·NUCLEAR·
TIMES

APRIL 1984 • $2.00

Representative Les AuCoin (l.), a leading MX opponent, with SANE's Michael Mawby

Showdown On MX

The MX is in trouble. The authorization bill for President Reagan's military budget is expected to reach the floor of the House of Representatives in May. When it leaves the House, production funds for the MX missile may be missing. For months

(*continued on page 7*)

"White Train" Protest Grows

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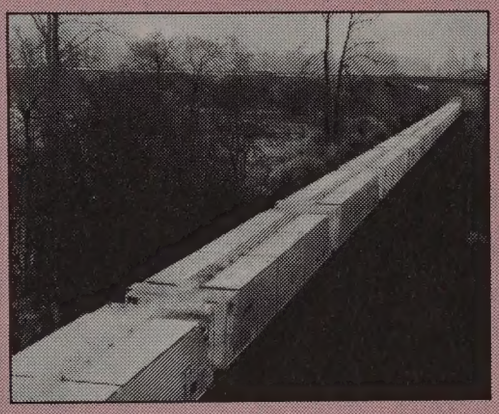

CAMPAIGN REPORT '84

★*Gender Gap*
★*Local Races*
★*Hart Probed*
and more

■ *Page 12*

Zooks, Yooks & Nukes

■ *Page 3*

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Letters

Catching a Few "Zees"

"Blips" or bloopers? There is no such thing as "nuclear *freeze* zones" (Early Warnings, March '84). The correct term is nuclear *free* zones. Come on you guys, get it together.

—Albert Donnay
Nuclear Free America
Baltimore, Md.

We'll get it together. Obviously we know the difference, but occasionally our proofreading eyes fail us.—Eds.

Book Review

Not only does *War Day* come out as survival-oriented (Early Warnings, March '84), which author Whitley Strieber denies, but too often it emphasizes material values over human ones. I believe the authors *want* to help the cause of reversing the arms race, but they do not with this book. But maybe it won't sell anyway because the book is boring!

—Mae Gautier
Presbytery of New York
Peacemaking Ministry
New York, N.Y.

Against Purity

It is difficult to believe that there are still those in the peace movement who maintain that "it confuses the issue" to make the link between U.S. interventionism and nuclear war plans (Forum, Feb '84). In fact, it confuses the issue *not* to insist on the link. The purist position, which holds that the only real worry we face is the threat of nuclear war, is both intellectually and morally bankrupt and politically disastrous.

The nuclear arms race and the U.S. drive for a first-strike capability do not occur in a political vacuum. Escalation is not an occult property of the Bomb, possessed independently of the rest of U.S. and Soviet foreign and military policy. Escalation is the result of the decisions of our leaders, conscious and intelligent men, who are attempting to defend particular interests by means of it—and by other means as well.

The arms race cannot be understood or effectively opposed if we fail to make the link between it and U.S. interventionism. The link is the defense of U.S. corporate and strategic interests. This is a link that our leaders, who make the decisions to escalate the arms race, are quite clear upon, even if certain segments of the peace movement are not. The arms race is itself only a symptom of a deeper problem, if a particularly lethal symptom.

I am happy to see a growing grassroots recognition that the militarism that produces the Bomb is driven by economic and political interests that must be attacked straightforwardly if we are to avert nuclear war. Ground Zero's purism, expressed in your February issue, is fortunately an increasingly minority position. It is absurd to think that we can stop the Bomb and leave everything else the same.

—Justin Schwartz
Ann Arbor, Mich.

The argument for a separate approach to nuclear disarmament suffers from a serious analytical flaw when it assumes that the nuclear threat arises in a political vacuum, or at least that it is an aberration, something that came about in spite of the efforts of all concerned. In reality, the threat of nuclear war was created for a purpose, and interests committed to that purpose are not about to abandon either purpose or threat (unless of course an even more murderous weapon is invented).

There also seems to be a distinct self-centeredness about some of the "purist" antinuclear arguments. Is the only important factor about a given conflict whether or not *I* am personally in danger? Is it important to oppose "surgical" nuclear strikes because they may lead to "harder stuff," because innocent people will die, or because fallout might blow back to North America and give ME cancer? More to the point, should we oppose U.S. attacks against Lebanon just because we might get in a nuclear war? Or does it matter that Beirut has already undergone the destructive equivalent of a low-level kiloton-range nuclear strike, with all the death and suffering this brings, as a result of U.S. naval bombardment?

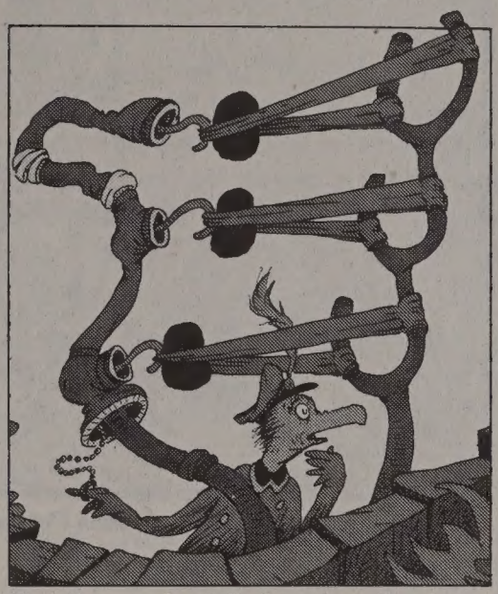
Unless the antinuclear movement can be linked not only to anti-intervention, but to healthy, positive solidarity with the struggle for justice, disarmament activists will remain isolated from potential resources and supporters on the Left, both here and worldwide. And rather than hoping against hope that the Right will see the light, rather than pandering to the "conservative mood of America," the antinuclear movement would do far better to try to change that mood by raising public consciousness about war and peace. Without doubt we need organizations dedicated strictly to nuclear issues, just as we need union or ethnic organizations. But we need to work together.

—Owen Williamson
El Paso, Texas

Early Warnings

SPRING PLANNING: It's not too early to start planning for spring 1985. That's the message of Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. In a memorandum he has been circulating, Kehler calls for the antinuclear movement to stage a "very large and powerful event or action" next spring in Washington, D.C., and perhaps elsewhere, no matter who is elected in November. "If a Democrat is elected, we know we will have to hold his feet to the fire if we expect any significant action," says Kehler. "If Ronald Reagan is re-elected, it will be terribly important to show that the disarmament movement is still alive and strong and determined." The point, he adds, is to show that the movement "has a long-term agenda and strategy that transcends even presidential elections."

HORTON HATCHES A BOMB: In his new book, *The Butter Battle Book*, Dr. Seuss, whose real name is Theodore Geisel, tells of a conflict between the Zooks and Yooks over whether bread should be buttered on the top or bottom. Their disagreement leads to a weapons-building competition that culminates in the invention by both sides of an egg-size "Bitsy Big-Boy Boomeroo." At the end of the story, rival warriors are perched on a wall, each holding a tiny, powerful bomb



"Let the race begin": Seussian slingshot

over the other's territory.

Many schools are already using the book. Gilda Kaplan, a social studies teacher at a New York City elementary school, included *The Butter Battle Book* in a year-long curriculum devoted to war and peace. First and second graders in her classes bring in news clips of conflicts around the world and discuss the reasons why wars are fought. But the Geisel book raises the question about how much children should be taught about the arms race. Tom Roderick, New York coordinator of Educators for Social Responsibility, advises that with kids under 9 discussions of *The Butter Battle Book* should be limited to general, moral issues such as conflict and escalation, rather than specific comparisons to the arms race. The real-life connection should not be forced, Roderick remarks, because "we want to educate, not scare, the kids." Geisel on the other hand, believes children can deal with the issue at an early age. "Since this is the hottest topic in the world," he said in an interview, "if kids are intelligent and read anything, of course they're facing it."

WATCH THIS SPACE: There may be a legislative battle over President Reagan's "Star Wars" program when the Pentagon's authorization bill comes before Congress in May. A variety of bills opposing space weapons have been introduced in recent weeks, including a measure (proposed by Representative Norman Dicks) that calls for a moratorium on the testing of antisatellite weapons. Proponents of this bill and supporters of a measure to cap funding for Reagan's space-based "strategic defense" program will try to attach their measures to the authorization bill.

Representative Joe Moakley, in the meantime, continues to press a bill that calls for a negotiated ban on all space weapons. And a measure introduced by Representative George Brown urges the United States to maintain its commitment to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. On March 28 Brown announced the formation of the Coalition for the Peaceful Uses of Space, made up of members of

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Congress, other public officials and public-interest groups, including the Federation of American Scientists and the Arms Control Association.

The Union of Concerned Scientists, a member of this new coalition, recently released its report on strategic defense, titled "Space-Based Missile Defense." Drafted by a nine-member panel that included Carl Sagan and Nobel Laureate Hans Bethe, the 106-page report notes that a complete ballistic missile defense is technologically "unattainable." The study maintains that if only 5 percent of the Soviet warheads slipped through a missile defense system, 60 million people would be killed. The report added that the political and strategic dangers of pursuing this goal were at least as important as the technological obstacles.

ONE BIG UNION?: Complaints about the duplication of efforts and the lack of coordination among movement groups are nothing new. But the question of whether the peace movement should in some manner become more centralized has always sparked vigorous debate. Now David Cortright, executive director of SANE, has called for a move in this direction. "Why not combine the Freeze Campaign and SANE into a unifying force?" he asked at a recent SANE electoral conference in Washington, D.C. Such a move, which could also include other groups, he suggested, might lead within two years to an organization that numbers up to 250,000 members. "It's heresy to some," he noted, "but ideal for others."

BAD MARKS FOR TEST SITE: Two recent accidents, and the disclosure that the government has not been announcing every nuclear weapons test, have hardened citizen opposition around the Nevada Test Site (NTS). Following underground blasts on February 15 and March 1, ground thousands of feet above the explosions caved in. The February collapse resulted in 13 injuries and the death of a 59-year-old wireman. Government officials said the first blast was under 20 kilotons and that in neither case did radiation escape.

Warning sign for workers near Yucca Flats atomic test site in Nevada

But local activists are suspicious. Test site officials have often been careless and secretive, maintains Benjamin Levy, who worked at NTS for 27 years. As president of the almost 200-member Nevada Test Site Radiation Victims Association, Levy has compiled a list of documented accidents and radiation exposure among NTS workers. His list includes eight deaths and 28 cases of leukemia. The Association, which is comprised of people who worked at NTS in high-radiation areas, is currently suing the government for damages. "Even today," says Levy, "there is no insurance or compensation for people who contract cancer due to radiation exposure."

Other groups have been raising the issues of the danger of radiation exposure to residents in the surrounding area and the role of the site in weapons research. Citizens Call, a group based in Utah, plans to comb records in nearby counties for data on the incidence of radiation-related illness and independently monitor radiation levels around the site. Clergy and Laity Concerned-Nevada has been cosponsoring the Lenten Desert Experience, a peace vigil throughout April at the site and at several Las Vegas bus stops, from which many of the approximately 7500 NTS workers from that city depart each morning.

PARTY TO AN AGREEMENT: Former Rear Admiral Gene LaRocque has a plan to stop nuclear testing. On August 6 the Center for Defense Information, a Washington, D.C.-based military research group, expects to propose a worldwide "celebration" to symbolically mark the end of all nuclear weapons testing. The celebration will be held a year later on August 6, 1985, 40 years after a nuclear bomb exploded over Hiroshima. LaRocque, director of CDI, hopes that the demonstrations will be large enough to generate significant attention in Europe, Japan, the United States and the Soviet Union. Although the demonstrations may not actually stop the testing, "anyone who tests after that time will be the skunk," says LaRocque.

OH SAY CAN YOU SEE? Every day at the National Archives in Washington, D.C., there is a rehearsal for the preservation of the American heritage in case of nuclear war. At the end of the day, according to Edward Zuckerman in his soon-to-be-published *The Day After World War III* (Viking), a guard in the Archives approaches the display case that contains the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution, throws a switch, and "starts the documents on a long slow descent into a fifty-ton vault that was de-

Blips

Activists in several communities will release proposed "Jobs with Peace Budgets," in brochure form, on May 7 as part of **Peace with Justice Week** (May 4-13). Rallies in many cities will be held on Mother's Day, May 13 .... The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament in New Orleans plans a demonstration and alternative fair on May 12 for the opening of the **World's Fair**, which President Reagan is expected to attend .... A symposium on **Nuclear Winter**, featuring Carl Sagan, Erik Erikson, Robert Jay Lifton, Henry Steele Commager and others will be held on May 8 at the Los Angeles Convention Center .... A **women's peace camp** will open on May 28 near the ELF transmitter in Clam Lake, Wisconsin, and another summer of protest is planned by the women's encampment at the Seneca Army Depot in Romulus, New York .... The PIRG Summer Voter Registration Project in Boston (617-423-1796) is looking to **hire students** in 47 cities at an average summer salary of $2000 .... The next civil disobedience action at **Honeywell** in Minneapolis will be held April 27 .... A coalition of groups in Southern California, '84 Mobilization for Peace and Justice, is planning a two-week "Survivalfest" in Los Angeles to coincide with the **Olympic games** in July.

PHOTO BY ROBERT DEL TREDICI

signed to protect them from fire, shock, heat, water—and nuclear explosions." In the event of a nuclear attack, the Pentagon would call on a hot line and order the symbols of democracy lowered. "I hope they get the right guard," says the Archives' security manager, "one who's not going to run out and go home."

Zuckerman's book, a detailed examination of government and civilian plans for the onset and aftermath of nuclear war, presents a host of absurd and chilling facts. A federal guide for managing a fallout shelter says that, "Managing a [shelter] is similar in many ways to running a hotel." The guide advises shelter managers to maintain "high social standards, particularly for sexual behavior."

TAKING THE INITIATIVE: The effort to get an initiative on the ballot in Los Angeles calling for the transfer of federal military spending to social programs was dealt a serious blow when 25,000 signatures were stolen from the Jobs with Peace office in a forced entry on March 15. "It was not a normal act of vandalism or burglary," says Anthony Thigpenn, initiative director, noting that the burglars stole the petitions, a briefcase and $150 in cash, but didn't take typewriters or portable photocopiers.

The initiative, first proposed by a labor coalition, Southern California Unions for the Freeze, would require the city to produce a yearly accounting of how much city residents pay in taxes for military spending and the effect of that spending on unemployment. Similar resolutions have passed in several other cities, including Baltimore.

Organizers suspect the theft was an act of political sabotage but have no clues as to who may have committed it. "The door was kicked in and the only clues left were a couple of large footprints and fingerprints on the wall," says Ethel Long, the campaign's volunteer coordinator. Despite the theft, Long is confident of collecting enough additional signatures to complement the 50,000 names not stolen and qualify the initiative for the November ballot. Over 100,000 signatures are needed to ensure that 68,900 —the minimum necessary—are certified.

WOMAN TO WOMAN: It began four months ago in Dr. Helen Caldicott's livingroom, with Randall Forsberg, Representative Patricia Schroeder, and Ariela Gross—among 50 other antinuclear activists—on hand. Since then, it has grown to include thousands of women in 12 states. Women's Initiatives for Peace (WIFP), the brainchild of Dr. Margaret Brenman-Gibson, a Cambridge, Massachusetts, psychoanalyst, teacher and antinuclear activist, was formed to link

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the peace efforts of women (men are not excluded) all over the country. Working in coalition with groups such as Gender Gap '84 and Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, WIFP has a decentralized structure consisting of 100 "core" women who are each responsible for involving 10 friends (and so on). In addition to basic grass-roots education WIFP is focusing on intensive election-year lobbying for the quick freeze.

To that end, on May 10 WIFP members will visit the local, and Washington, D.C., offices of elected officials in what is being billed as the "Mother's Day Congressional Action." (Registration for the event starts on May 9 at the Church of the Pilgrim in Washington, D.C.). Although lobbying for the quick freeze will be the day's priority, women plan to bring candy, flowers and offers of support to those politicans who have good voting records on defense issues. And for those with poor records? They will be the targets of letter-writing campaigns from constituents to local papers.

The May 10 event may also mark the premiere reading of a new play by Brenman-Gibson's husband, William Gibson (author of *Two for the Seesaw* and *The Miracle Worker*). Tentatively titled *Handy Dandy: A Comedy, But . . .*, the two-character play depicts the courtroom relationship of a judge and a civilly-disobedient nun.

SCHOOL'S IN: On April 28 the Student Coalition for Peace will finally hold its annual peace fair on school grounds in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. On March 22 the U.S. District Court in Philadelphia overturned a decision of the Lower Merion school board prohibiting the high school organization from holding its event at the school. The board had rejected the group's request to use three outdoor facilities of the Lower Merion High School, claiming use of these facilities is limited to "athletic or governmental purposes." The suit, filed on behalf of the students by Stephen Gold, a volunteer attorney for the Philadelphia chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, alleged that the students' First Amendment rights to free speech and assembly were violated by the board's decision.

When a similar request by the students was denied last year, the Coalition held its fair, which attracted nearly 500 people, on the grounds of the Friends' Central School in a nearby community. But the students say that a fair at their own school will attract an even bigger crowd this year.

Items for this section were written by Douglas Lavin, Gina Lobaco, Alex Miller, and Leslie Reckler.

Blue-Prints

Studies, Proposals & Brainstorms

A philosophical line divides those who are resigned to nuclear deterrence as a permanent peace-keeping fixture, and those who consider it dangerous and makeshift rigging. A recent debate at a Democracy Project conference in New York helped define the split. On one side: Leon Wieseltier of *The New Republic* and author of *Nuclear War, Nuclear Peace*. On the other side: Richard Barnet of the Institute for Policy Studies and author of *The Alliance*. Each claimed that the other was unrealistic. Wieseltier argued that it was utopian to indulge in hopes of transcending deterrence. Barnet rejoined that it was unreasonable to base existence on a system that to work at all must work 100 percent of the time.

Richard Garwin, who in 1952 helped build the first hydrogen bomb, accepts the policy of deterrence, but advocates a minimalist approach. Instead of strewing our landscape, and that of our allies, with nuclear missiles aimed at the Soviet Union, why not site a few nuclear warheads directly on Soviet territory, and accept an equal number of Soviet warheads in the United States? Such an arrangement would put the deterrent-by-retaliation pact in its most honest form. The means of delivery? Carry the warheads by hand to embassies or other storage places.

Garwin, now a fellow at the IBM Thomas J. Watson Research Center, and a consultant to the U.S. Government on

military technology and arms control, points out that this is not a new idea, nor original with him. In a recent interview with NUCLEAR TIMES, Garwin said that he and other scientists, including Louis Ridenour and Leo Szilard, had proposed such an idea at a 1969 Pugwash conference. Garwin maintains that the idea is still technically sound, but lacks the necessary political environment for implementation. "It takes real cooperation," he said, and, contrary to the posture of the current administration, an acceptance of equal vulnerability on both sides.

The idea of placing warheads directly on rival territory, termed "overt emplacement," was recently given new currency in the January issue of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* in an article by Louis Goldman titled "Is There a Soviet Bomb in Wichita?" Goldman cites writings by Garwin that strongly suggest nuclear bombs have already crossed each country's borders in smuggling operations. Goldman suggests that if overt emplacement were made into overt policy, "Untold billions could be saved and the arms race terminated."

In her paper, "Confining the Military to Defense as a Route to Disarmament," published in the Winter issue of the *World Policy Journal*, freeze author **Randall Forsberg** maintains that the primary military function of nuclear weapons is not to deter nuclear war, but to prevent conventional conflicts between the superpowers, and to back up foreign military interventions. According to this analysis, deep reductions in nuclear weapons will only be possible with a complete overhaul of international political-military relations.

Copies of Forsberg's paper have been available from the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies for a couple of years. But the first formal publication is well-timed, occurring in a period of heightened receptivity to such far-reaching proposals. Forsberg envisions the ending of conventional warfare as the ultimate solution to the problem of nuclear weapons. A similar goal was set forth in the 1961 McCloy-Zorin Agreement, proposed by advisers to John Kennedy and Nikita Khruschev, and unanimously approved by the United Nations General Assembly. The agreement that Kennedy said would "keep peace even as it destroyed the machines of war," is being revived in a House resolution and supported by members of the Institute for Policy Studies and the World Federalists.

As for the more short-term discussion of deterrence: **Tom Stefanick**, of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, plans to complete this June his two-year study of the possible technological breakthroughs in antisubmarine warfare. According to Stefanick, the argument that submarines would become increasingly vulnerable to attack was used by MX proponents during the basing debate in the spring of 1980. But Stefanick reveals that his study, billed as the "most technical investigation in the unclassified literature," not only vouches for the security of submarines well into the future; it also asserts they could provide an adequate "unitary deterrent"—sufficient to supplant the other two (land and air) legs of the triad. In Stefanick's view, the maintenance and modernization of land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles is driven by political, not technical, interests.

—Corinna Gardner

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOM

CRUCIAL VOTE DUE

Showdown on MX

(continued from front cover)
both opponents and supporters of the intercontinental missile have been preparing for the upcoming vote. A year ago Representative Les Aspin and other House members engineered a bipartisan "compromise" that won majority support for the MX. But this year's fight in the House is a whole new ball game—one that could go either way. "The fate of the MX," notes Representative Les AuCoin, "is right on the edge now."

The attack on the MX takes the form of an amendment proposed by two Democrats, Representatives Nicholas Mavroules, a liberal from Massachusetts, and Charles Bennett, a conservative from Florida. If passed and attached to the Pentagon's authorization bill, it would not only delete the current $3.2 billion request for building 40 new missiles, it would also rescind the unspent portions of the production funds approved narrowly last year for the first 21 missiles. Compromise measures and fallback positions may crop up, but for now MX opponents on the Hill say they are strong enough to go for an outright "kill." In fact, when Representative Albert Gore Jr., who helped fashion (and still supports) the Aspin deal, met with anti-MX lobbyists in March, he said he expects the MX to lose the coming vote. And reports are circulating on Capitol Hill that the Reagan administration is bracing for a loss on this round. "They may be trying to lull us into a false state of security," says one anti-MX lobbyist, only half-jokingly.

MX BY THE NUMBERS

Here's how the numbers in the House break down: Last November, 208 members voted to delete production funds for the first batch of missiles. The day of the vote, according to anti-MX lobbyists, four who oppose the missile were absent, and one member voted for it by mistake. That adds up to 213 votes against the MX.

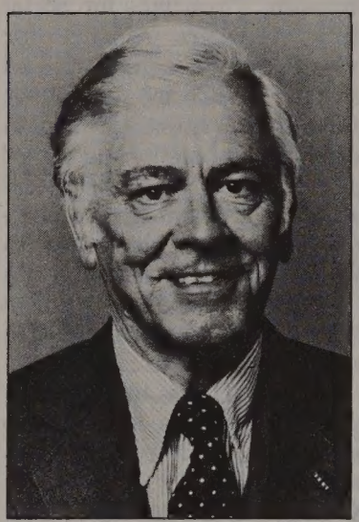
If all 435 members vote, anti-MX forces need 218 votes to pass the Mavroules-Bennett measure. Among the 208 members who opposed the missile, Jay Hedlund, a lobbyist for Common Cause, reports, there have been "no signs of slippage." That means a switch of a handful of members could turn the vote around.

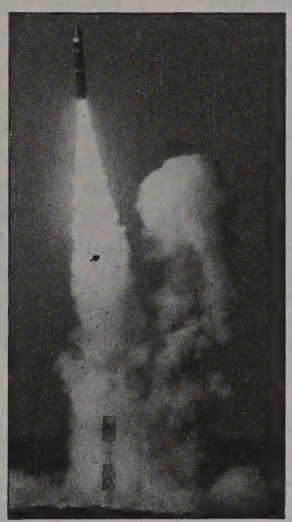
"To really guarantee a win, we probably need 10 more votes," says SANE lobbyist Laurie Duker. "The Reagan administration is strong on lobbying, and it will have promises ready for those swing votes that go with the administration in the event of a close vote."

occurred that day, he would have turned against the missile. "The table has been taken out from underneath the bargaining chip," says a Zschau aide. "The collapse of the arms talks and the emerging deficit are undeniable factors. Zschau is not the only member reassessing the MX."

The goal of anti-MX lobbyists, explains Common Cause's Hedlund, has been "to make it seem like a new battle. It's working."

Other developments bode well for MX opponents. For instance, Speaker of the House Thomas O'Neill and Majority Leader Jim Wright, both of whom have





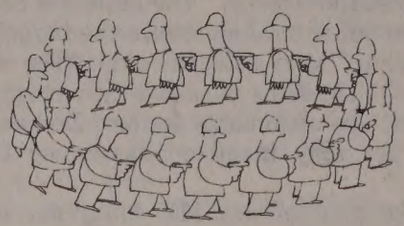
Rep. Bennett (l.), a "senior hawk," now opposes MX, but Rep. Boggs still has to be "swung"

For MX opponents on the Hill, picking up additional votes on the amendment to cut MX production funds is quite possible. A member of the Armed Services Committee for over 30 years, cosponsor Charles Bennett, who describes himself as a "senior hawk," told NUCLEAR TIMES that congressional representatives are rethinking their commitment to the MX. "Members are coming to realize that too much money is being put into nuclear weaponry, that the MX is not a good purchase for national defense," says Bennett, adding that he would like to see all funds earmarked for the MX transferred to conventional weapons.

Some of the arguments that have been raised by MX opponents—that the missile is too costly (especially given the budget deficit), vulnerable when deployed in Minuteman silos, and failing in its anointed role of "bargaining chip"—are scoring points among some conservative members. Last year Representative Ed Zschau, a California Republican, voted in favor of the missile three times, accepting the deal worked out by Aspin and other members. But in March, at a town meeting with his constituents, Zschau declared that if the MX vote had been on record against the missile, are becoming more directly involved. A spokesperson for O'Neill confirms that this year the Speaker will "make more of a personal appeal" against the MX. Mavroules has arranged a lunch with O'Neill, to which about nine swing-vote members have been invited to discuss the MX. And as one lobbyist notes, "Nobody turns down an invitation from the Speaker."

The involvement of O'Neill and Wright in the anti-MX campaign—along with the fact that each of the Democratic presidential candidates opposes the missile—may turn the coming vote into a test of Democratic loyalty. To capitalize on this, Representative AuCoin has written a letter to Representatives Thomas Foley and Bill Alexander (majority whip and assistant majority whip, respectively), urging them to vote against the MX, according to a congressional aide. Both have supported the missile, and both reportedly have their sights set on moving up in the House hierarchy. AuCoin's letter, according to several sources, implies that liberal Democrats will not back MX supporters for House leadership positions. *(continued next page)*

The Deterrence Debate



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"The idea," says SANE's Duker, "is to make this a good Democratic vote." Anti-MX lobbyists are pressing O'Neill to put out the message to Democratic members: If you're not with us, then take a walk and don't be in town the day of the vote.

GETTING INTO SWING

Working with the Speaker is just one aspect of a far-reaching campaign organized by MX opponents—ranging from Capitol Hill to some two dozen swing districts throughout the country.

Since the beginning of the year, a working group of about 15 antinuclear, environmental and church groups—including Common Cause, SANE, the Freeze Campaign, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Lawyers Alliance for Nuclear Arms Control, Sierra Club, and the United Church of Christ—have met every Friday morning at 8:30 to discuss the past week's developments and to plot the next week's game plan. On Wednesdays, a group of about eight House members and/or their aides also meet to develop anti-MX strategy. Both the lobbyists and members have drawn up lists of swing representatives to target. (On the other side, Aspin, Gore and Representative Norman Dicks are holding their own strategy sessions, according to congressional aides, and working with their own swing list.)

Anti-MX lobbyists are trying to generate constituent pressure in the districts of swing House members, such as Steny Hoyer, Democrat of Maryland, and Carl Pursell, Republican of Michigan—especially during Easter recess, when most members return to their districts. For instance, Business Executives for National Security is encouraging its members in swing districts to either meet with their congressional representatives or write them on company letterhead. A critical aspect of the MX opponents' strategy is to bring in new constituencies.

One example of new pressure groups potentially making a difference is the 24th district of Texas. This district is located in the Dallas-Forth Worth area and represented by Martin Frost, a Democrat who has voted for the MX the last three times around, but who is considered a swing vote. Susana Cepeda, minority outreach coordinator of SANE, enlisted Arnoldo Torres, national executive director of the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), to lobby Frost on the MX—Frost's district is 13 percent Hispanic and boasts a strong LULAC chapter. In return, SANE sent a letter to Speaker O'Neill opposing the Simpson-Mazzolli immigration bill—a key concern of LULAC—and agreed to educate its members on this issue. "It was a natural quid pro quo," says Cepeda, "and provides a model for coalition-building."

In New Orleans, activists are working with environmental and women's organizations to lobby Representative Lindy Boggs, another swing Democrat. "The Sierra Club and the Audubon Society oppose the MX, but their local members haven't talked to her about the MX before," reports Darryl Wiley, a member of both the Sierra Club and a local antinuclear group. "They're planning to talk to her about it now."

Also far from the Hill, anti-MX organizers in the vicinity of the deployment site in Nebraska and Wyoming continue to use local issues in fighting the MX.

Buttressing the efforts of MX opponents is the recent disclosure that the Air Force plans to deploy its first 10 missiles without knowing whether they or the silos actually work. But MX opponents are far from certain of a win. "It's a cliff hanger," says one congressional aide. "A few votes are always decided in the days before the vote." This staffer, who works with the pro-MX contingent, maintains that a compromise "stretch-out" measure, calling for the production of fewer missiles, will win out. "I guarantee this will happen," he says.

But anti-MX lobbyists maintain they are not vulnerable to such a move. "We expect the pro-MX side to get into a numbers game and ask for half," says Common Cause lobbyist Hedlund. "But half of a bad idea is still a bad idea. We're arguing on the merits and finding a responsive audience."

But even if the MX is defeated in the House in May, it will just be another round in the contest. The Senate remains behind the MX. (The lobbying effort of the MX opponents there is aimed at insuring that the Senate vote on the MX does not precede the House vote.) If the House rejects the missile and the Senate supports it, the deadlock will have to be broken by a House-Senate conference. And there will be future House votes. The MX was temporarily grounded once before, in a December 1982 House vote, but a loss this time, signaling the failure of the Aspin-Scowcroft Commission compromise, would be a major setback for MX proponents. A vote against the missile, says April Moore, coordinator of the National Campaign to Stop the MX, would mean much for the movement because "the MX is *the* symbol of first-strike weapons." The lobbying on both sides can be expected to become feverish in the days preceding the House vote, an indication of just how much is at stake.

—David Corn

TRACKS CAMPAIGN WIDENS

Who'll Stop The Train?

Nearly 100 people, standing in subfreezing temperatures at 3:30 a.m. in Cheyenne, Wyoming, pelted the train with flowers as it rushed by in the dark. About eight hours later, in Nampa, Idaho, seven protesters were arrested for attempting to block the train's passage. Farther up the line, in Portland, Oregon, 33 of some 175 protesters were booked for blocking the tracks—and stopping the train—for two-and-a-half hours. And in Bangor, Washington, 250 demonstrators welcomed the train to its last stop with signs of protest, singing, and prayers. Nine people, including two priests and a nun, were arrested for kneeling on the tracks in front of the Trident submarine base.

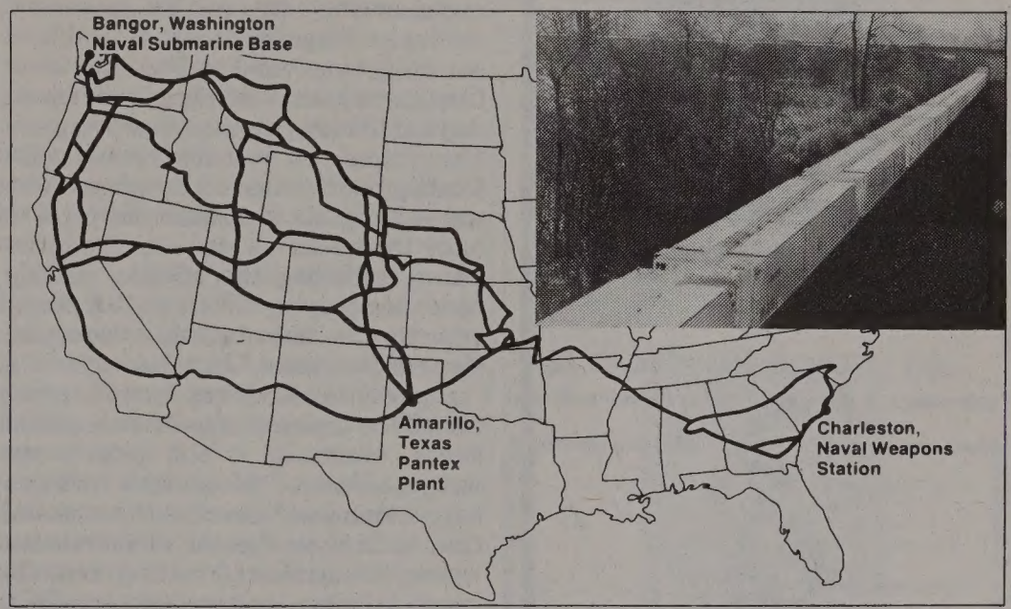
These were just a few of the demonstrations that dogged the latest journey of the train that carries nuclear warheads from the Pantex plant in Amarillo, Texas, where they are assembled, to nuclear weapons installations across the country. With cars painted white to keep their cargo cool, the so-called "white train" moved unchallenged through U.S. cities and towns for two decades. It wasn't until December 8, 1982, that the train was stripped of its anonymity by Jim and Shelley Douglass, founders of the Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action in Poulsbo, Washington. Their house, perched alongside the tracks, sits just 200 feet from the gate of the Trident submarine base.

On that December day, the Douglasses, who had recently moved into their house, got a tip about the white train from a reporter. "We went outside, and there it was," says Shelley Douglass. "It was horrifying—as if something from *Star Wars* had landed in our yard." With its turreted, armored cars, the train is an unnerving sight. "Imagine this eerie white thing emerging from the darkness and plowing right by you," says Nat Pierce, one of the seven arrested in Idaho. "It's like a Bergman movie."

Since that first spotting, the "tracks campaign" has grown to embrace 300 communities (called the Agape Community) across the country. "We have an extensive phone chain of people who are willing to jump out of bed at 2 a.m. to witness the train's passage," says Kate Boyers in Salt Lake City, Utah. Members of the network are responsible for calling ahead to activists in towns down the line, so that a chain of demonstrations and vigils is forged along the tracks.

Adding to the network of resistance, 12 Catholic bishops, with dioceses along white train routes, recently signed a statement of support that read, in part: "One meaning of the tracks campaign is that it can monitor and offer nonviolent resistance to each successive violation of our pastoral letter." The 12 bishops have called for track-side vigils on Peace Pentacost, June 10.

"The campaign just keeps growing," says Jim Douglass. "As more people learn that the train goes through their town, they sign on. People are looking for a concrete way to respond to the arms race. This is it. And since we learned of the route to Charleston [South Carolina], it has become a national issue, rather than a western one."



The tracks of our fears: White train routes from coast-to-coast

The white train's excursions to the Charleston Naval Weapons Station came to light last June, when Denver Judge Larry Lopez-Alexander ordered the Burlington Northern Railroad to turn over documents on the train to two protesters on trial. "From the documents we got, we found out—among other things—that the train went east, and that uranium is *only* dangerous if you eat it or breathe it," says Bill Sulzman, one of the defendants. When Judge Lopez-Alexander indicated that he wanted to bone up on international law, the government abruptly dropped the charges. "They didn't like the direction the trial was going in," Sulzman says, "and they didn't want the publicity."

As white train protests increase, so too does the government's skittishness; charges against the 33 demonstrators arrested in Portland and nine protesters in Bangor were also dropped.

In fact, the Department of Energy (DOE) seems to be willing to go hundreds of miles out of its way to avoid white train protests. In one of the documents obtained in the Denver trial, T.C. Whitacre, an executive at Burlington Northern Railroad, spells out DOE policy to keep the white train "moving at all times, including rerouting as necessary to avoid demonstrations or demonstrators." Whitacre's letter also states that demonstrators should be advised that "armed couriers are present and that these couriers will take appropriate action if the shipment itself is threatened." The white train has not been seen in Colorado since the demonstrations in March 1983, taking instead an indirect route to Bangor through Kansas and Nebraska. And in October 1983 the train was rerouted on its way to Charleston to avoid a demonstration in Birmingham, Alabama.

White train activists assert that the government may be attempting to do more that merely avoid them—it may be trying to shut them up. If the DOE's proposed regulations to ban the dissemination of Unclassified Controlled Nuclear Information (UCNI) goes into effect, those found guilty of spreading information about the transportation of nuclear weapons could be slapped with a $100,000 fine, and 20 years in prison.

While problems with the federal government persist, train buffs in most parts of the country enjoy lavish attention from the media. For example, last fall in Athens, Georgia, the local newspaper printed a front-page story which alerted people to the white train's approach and its route. And when the train—having already met dozens of protesters—was rerouted, WXIA-TV in Atlanta sent out helicopters to find it. "It objectifies the arms race for the press—

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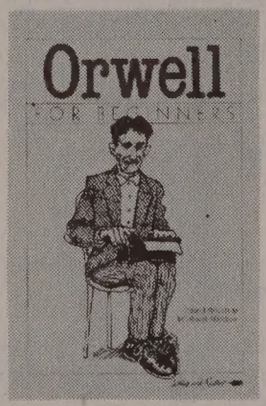

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just like it does for us," says Don Mosley, who, as a member of the Jubilee Committee in Comer, Georgia, coordinates the eastern wing of the tracks campaign. "We had TV stations calling us every hour, telling us that if the train came within 100 miles of them they'd send out crews. Everyone was competing for the story. The media *loves* this train." The blockade in Portland (where, as one reporter noted, a "brief delay in the arms race" occurred) sparked an avalanche of local coverage—much of it front-page—and considerable national attention.

But with all of the recent publicity, white train resisters caution against the tracks campaign turning into a game of hide-and-seek, where tracking—and even stopping—the train becomes an exclusive priority. Jim Douglass, author of several books, including *The Nonviolent Cross*, emphasizes the need to alter basic ways of thinking about nuclear weapons. For example, a meeting he had with Burlington Northern executives—who urged Douglass to abandon his plans to block the tracks—ended with the entire group, including the officials, holding hands and praying. "We hope that people will use the train to help others take steps of conscience," Douglass says.

And Shelley Douglass points out that even if the train is stopped for a couple of hours, eventually it still gets to the weapons bases. "More basic changes have to be made," she says. Nonetheless, train buffs agree that the white train is a wonderful symbol. Anything but abstract, it brings the arms race home in a chillingly tangible way.

"You can't respond to the holocaust when it's happening," Jim Douglass says. "You can't block an MX or a cruise missile when it's flying through the air.

Arms race "briefly delayed" in Portland

But you *can* respond to the holocaust during its preparation. You can get in front of the train. You can vigil by the tracks. You can talk to the government about it."

Although track campaign organizers can only make educated guesses, the next white train is expected to leave Amarillo in late April, bound for South Carolina. "The days of the invisible white train are over," says Georgia's Mosley. "Whenever that train comes, we'll be ready."

But the tracks campaign is still in its infancy; organizers have yet to confirm, for example, whether the train goes to the Seneca Army Depot in Romulus, New York. "The responsibility for breaking the silence around the white train belongs to all of us," says Jim Douglass. "It's extremely important for anyone who has seen the train to let us know when and where." **—Renata Rizzo**

Wrap-Up

NUCLEAR TIMES' two-hour live television special carried throughout New York City on March 8 featured a lively debate among Michio Kaku, Grace Paley, Betty Lall, Sergei Batovrin and three arms-buildup proponents .... Twenty-seven state legislators in Wyoming have supported an **anti-MX letter** sent to President Reagan by Governor Ed Herschler and Nebraska Governor Bob Kerrey .... The **South Dakota** Freeze Campaign handed in over 14,000 signatures to place a freeze initiative on the 1984 ballot .... After a Canadian judge rejected a request from antinuclear groups for an injunction to bar the flight, a U.S. B-52 last month tested the guidance system of an unarmed **cruise missile** near Cold Lake, Alberta—the first test of a U.S. nuclear delivery system in Canada .... At least 110 jurisdictions have so far voted to refuse to participate in **mass evacuation plans** for nuclear war, according to the Traprock Peace Center, and four states have refused to spend money on these programs—Massachusetts, California, New Mexico and Maryland (two years running). The state and local rejections come from areas with a total population of 48 million .... Kansans to Freeze the Arms Race is channeling 10 percent of its budget into an **economic conversion** trust fund that would be distributed to people who might lose their defense jobs if arms cutbacks were made .... More than 33,000 surveys, distributed by several hundred churches in the state of Washington, have been returned to the **Ecumenical Dialogue for Peace with Justice**, based in Seattle. One result: 34 percent of the churchgoers believe that possession of nuclear weapons is "immoral"—but 58 percent do not.

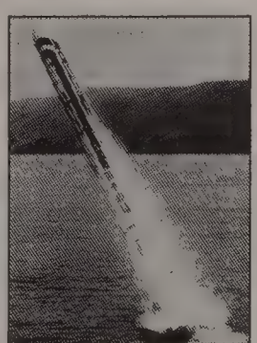
PHOTO BY GORDON OLIVER/*NATIONAL CATHOLIC REPORTER*

Notes From Abroad

Cruise To Japan

For most of the international peace movement, the Reagan administration's plans to deploy about 1000 Tomahawk nuclear-tipped cruise missiles on ships and submarines over the next 10 years have been overshadowed by the campaign against the Euromissiles. But the Tomahawks, which will be deployed starting in June, are at least as destabilizing as the ground-launched cruise. They can be deployed anywhere in the world without the consent of allied nations, and because of their small size, their mobility, and the similarity between the nuclear and conventional versions, they pose a severe problem for verifiable arms control. They are most important in the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions, where sea power provides the bulk of the U.S. military presence.

In Japan, which the Pentagon calls "the cornerstone of U.S. forward defense strategy in the Asian-Pacific region," U.S. plans to begin deploying the Tomahawks this summer have triggered a new surge of antinuclear activity. On March 18 thousands of people rallied against the missiles in the port cities of Sasebo, Naha and Yokosuka (the site of a U.S. Navy base). Anti-Tomahawk centers have been set up in several areas, and peace groups (including the Hibakusha, or atomic bomb survivors) have issued an appeal which points out that nuclear-armed vessels calling at Japanese ports will be violating the country's non-nuclear constitution. The new movement has won the support of a wide range of citizen organizations, including teachers' unions, youth associations and Buddhist groups. Actions planned for the next few months include educational drives, parliamentary lobbying, and signature campaigns. At the end of April, an International Conference Against Military Bases and Blocs, which will discuss strategies for denuclearizing the Pacific, will be held in Japan.



Tomahawk missile

• The days of massive demonstrations in Europe designed for maximum media impact are over, at least for a while. Protesters are moving toward "national action days," smaller demonstrations, and nonviolent blockades and educational activities taking place in towns and at missile bases. At the same time, many movement conferences and publications are discussing the broader aspects of militarism: NATO's integrated conventional, chemical and nuclear strategy and the connections between the nuclear arms race and military intervention in the Third World. The British magazine *Peace News* sums up the new tactics as "Act locally, think globally."

• The deployment of the Euromissiles has also opened a debate about the peace movement's long-term goals and alignments. Peace groups in Italy and West Germany are facing the difficult task of defining their relationship with political parties. In **Italy**, a national conference decided that the movement's new National Peace Coordinating Committee should consist of peace groups that are nonviolent and not aligned with either superpower, and that the movement should remain autonomous from political parties while maintaining good relations with them.

Italian activists are now trying to collect 50,000 signatures on a petition to change the constitution so as to allow a national referendum on the stationing of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons in Italy and the deployment of Italian troops abroad.

• In **West Germany**, splits between the Greens and the Communists continue to cause problems, though not fatal ones. A national action conference in Cologne in mid-February agreed on a plan to create a "human web" in the Fulda Gap region 50 kilometers from East Germany next autumn, to block U.S. military maneuvers there.

• Ulkike Poppe and Barbel Bohley, the **East German** peace activists who were arrested last December and charged with "treasonous divulging of information" to Western peace activists, have been released, and all charges dropped. The most likely reason is the thaw between East and West Germany, which has allowed several hundred people to defect westward across the Berlin Wall. The letter-writing campaign organized by Western peace groups also may have helped. However, several peace activists in Potsdam, Weimar, Leipzig and Karl Marx Stadt are still in jail.

• Anyone who doubts the impact of **Greenham Common** on British consciousness should pay a visit to English video game stores, where the latest item is a program called "Base Invaders." The object is to cut down the fence before the police arrive. Part of the proceeds go to the Greenham Common peace camp.

—Maria Margaronis

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CAMPAIGN REPORT '84

A special section covering campaign-related educational activities

Women's groups create coalitions

Will Gender Gap Become A Gulf?

Gender gap politics may be a hot new phrase for political analysts, but for many of the peace groups reaching out to women in this year's election the theme is as old as their charters. "Research is simply confirming what our intuition told us all along," says Jan Meriwether, director of special projects of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament (WAND)—a group founded by Dr. Helen Caldicott after she discovered that the overwhelming response to her early speeches on nuclear war came from women.

Yet if these strong feelings about peace aren't new, the attention being paid to women in this election certainly is. Ever since the 1980 exit polls began showing evidence of a gender gap—loosely defined as a tendency (hovering around 10 percent) for more women than men to disapprove of President Reagan's performance in office—interest in the women's vote has been growing. And no wonder. Women now make up 60 percent of the registered Democrats, and they outvoted men, in both parties, by four million in 1982.

This year, dozens of groups with varied political agenda are counting on the women's vote to make a difference. And it could prove important that antinuclear groups are joining the coalition. For it is on nuclear, military spending, and intervention issues, according to Eleanor Smeal, former head of the National Organization for Women, that the gender gap "becomes a gulf." She notes a typical 10 to 20 percent difference between male and female attitudes in many polls on these issues.

But how can antinuclear groups make the gender gap work for them? For many groups the answer this year seems simple: get out the vote. In some cases, the plethora of new voter registration drives represents a leap of faith: Just get women registered and to the polls, and they'll vote for "peace" candidates. In others, a more sophisticated effort is underway to target specific groups of women.

WAND has launched Women Vote for Survival '84, a campaign aimed at registering women, educating them on arms issues, and getting them to the polls. The group hopes to pinpoint areas where women are under-registered and where there are strong pro-freeze candidates. WAND has also formed its own political action committee. And Dr. Caldicott will speak throughout the country, following the presidential candidates through the remaining primary states, on the theme that women can and must elect peace candidates.

Caldicott: Banking on the gender gap

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) is coupling voter registration with its Women's Poll Project, an informal survey of up to 30,000 women on gender gap issues. Results are expected in mid-May. The group will follow up by sending literature to the undecided and, in organizer Mary Zepernick's words, "using the data to hold the candidates accountable."

Yet what's most interesting about these peace-oriented efforts is their link with non-military issues. Leaders of WAND and WILPF tend to agree with Molly Yard of Gender Gap '84 (a new project directed by Eleanor Smeal) that the gender gap has "two solid components"—the so-called peace issues, and the so-called women's issues (abortion, day-care, social spending and the Equal Rights Amendment). This is reflected in WILPF's poll, which includes questions on domestic and foreign issues. And WAND's registration drive has linked up with the Human SERVE Campaign, a group aimed at getting social service agency staffs to register their largely female members and clients. "Women can join hands across class lines on a very large scale," says Frances Fox Piven, a Human SERVE board member.

WAND is now doing all it can, says Jan Meriwether, "to discuss the disastrous impact of an escalating military budget on jobs for women." Not surprisingly, the group is targeting low-income women in its registration drive. The League of Women Voters has launched a similar drive, concentrating on five states.

Adding significantly to these efforts is the Women's Vote Project, a Washington, D.C.-based coalition of several dozen groups, ranging from the Planned Parenthood Federation to the Association of Junior Leagues to Women USA (headed by Bella Abzug). While members of the Project are concentrating on simply registering 1.5 million women by October 6, the group is targeting low-income groups, female heads of households, and young working women.

But for some members of the Project, such as the American Association of University Women, the nuclear issue is paramount. "In last year's membership poll, preventing nuclear war was rated highest as a voting issue, over the ERA and education," says Johanna Mendelson, the AAUW's director of public policy. "And our membership is 45 percent Republican." Today the group is focusing on improving women's political leadership skills, with a long-term goal of consulting with female candidates on national security issues. "The extent to which we've gotten involved in political work is phenomenal," Mendelson says.

Although it is apparent that women are primarily concerned with economic and military issues, it is difficult to predict who the newly enfranchised will vote for in November. For the first time since fall 1981, the most recent *New York Times/CBS* poll showed a majority of women, 53 percent, approving of Reagan (though, with a male approval rating of 61 percent, a gap still exists). And ac-

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cording to Lawrence Kaagan of the polling firm Yankelovich, Skelly and White, trying to predict how the polls will translate into votes "is like grabbing a handful of Jell-O. The gender gap seems to be a misnomer masking a number of more detailed gaps. For instance, more women than men show a dissatisfaction with politics in general—a factor that doesn't help any party. The exception is young women, who do tend to favor the Democrats."

Meanwhile the Republicans are doing some targeting of their own. The Republican National Committee has formed a National Women's Coalition of 40 prominent professionals who will try to present a positive picture of Republican achievements. But Republican efforts do not show any specific concern with arms control issues. "We see the problem as a communications gap," says Amy Woodhouse, director of RNC's Women's Programs Division. "And remember that you can look at the gender gap in a number of ways. The polls do show a difference. But doesn't that mean the Democrats have a problem with *men*?"

—Cathy Cevoli

Cranston Presses "Peace Plank"

He may be out of the presidential race, but Senator Alan Cranston is not going to sit out the rest of the election season on the sidelines. Cranston has released a proposed peace plank for the Democratic Party's 1984 platform, drafted by a committee that includes Jerome Wiesner, science adviser to President Kennedy, Randall Forsberg, author of the freeze, and Ruth Adams, editor of *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*. The proposed plank calls for a new Democratic administration to "implement a Strategy for Peace."

It urges a new Democratic president to halt nuclear warhead testing and the testing and deployment of all ballistic and cruise missiles (as well as the Trident submarine and the B-1 and Stealth bombers) in the first hour of his administration. This moratorium, the draft says, should be maintained "so long as the Soviets do the same." The proposed plank also calls for similar moratoria on antisatellite weapons and all weapons in outer space. It urges the adoption of a no-first-use policy and the institution of a U.S.-Soviet summit.

On March 27, the Wisconsin delegation to the party's official platform committee began to distribute the proposed plank to

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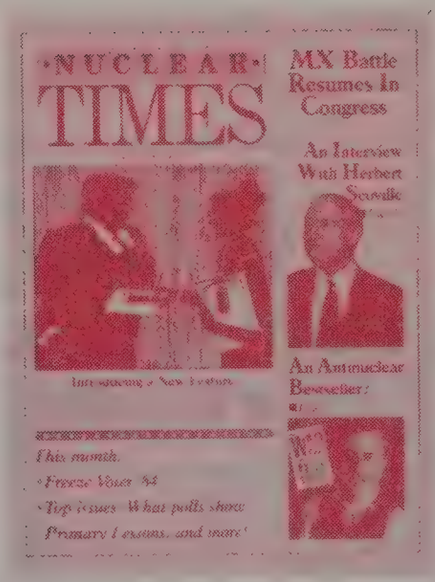

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other members of the committee, according to Harris Wofford, coordinator of the "peace plank" panel. And Council for a Livable World—its president, Jerome Grossman, helped draft the plank—is sponsoring a project to gather endorsements for the plank and lobby the platform committee. Wofford notes that in some areas activists are using the proposed plank as a yardstick by which to measure candidates.

Freeze Voter '84: Growing Pains?

One day recently in Ithaca, New York (population 28,000), 79 freeze supporters taking part in a door-to-door canvass raised $2312. On the same day in Boulder, Colorado, 47 activists raised $1181. After collecting over $23,000 in 80 cities in February, the Freeze Voter '84 canvass hit 100 cities on March 24.

The canvassers have also recruited several thousand new volunteers for the campaign and got more than 30,000 people to sign pledges to make the freeze their top voting priority this year. But the success and scope of this activity has caused some problems. The Freeze Voter office in Washington, D.C., asks state chapters (now numbering 33) to send the money collected to the national office. Part of it is used to finance the national campaign—which has 10 full-time coordinators in the field—and the rest is returned to local groups. But some groups are wary of this policy because the initial turnaround of funds was slower than expected. "This operation is unprecedented," says one national staffer, "and we expanded so fast it has been chaotic at times. Everybody—from local freeze people to the candidates themselves—wants information and advice."

The biggest problem facing Freeze Voter '84, this staffer says, is to communicate to the locals "exactly what we're doing and how the money will be spent. They want to know: Are we taking money from districts where no race is being contested and putting it into a 'swing' race in Texas? We have a plan but we haven't communicated it yet. We feel there's a solidarity with a national campaign but people understandably don't feel like sending money without knowing what it's for." To narrow the communication gap, the national office—which has raised well over $300,000 from all sources so far—is planning a national conference in Washington, D.C., in early May.

—G.M.

Activists in training

Teaching Campaign Clout

"Freeze people and peace groups started coming to us about a year ago looking for basic electoral organizing skills," says Janet Kelsey, training director for Citizens' Leadership Foundation, a Chicago-based institute that conducts nonpartisan electoral training nationwide. "The peace groups have found out you can preach your issues to the politicians, but the politicians always end up asking, 'Where were you on Election Day?' When a group helps get the politician elected, then that group has clout."

Citizens' Leadership Foundation teaches clout. Since its establishment in 1981, CLF has given electoral and voter-involvement training to more than 2000 members of 175 organizations working for social change. This year it is sponsoring sessions as far away as Long Island, New York and Orlando, Florida.

Are CLF sessions working? "They are enormously effective," says Wendy Georges, associate director of the Illinois Nuclear Freeze Campaign. The political arm of the Campaign, Illinois Freeze Voters, put its organizers from many of the state's 22 congressional districts through a CLF session in December 1983. This paid off three months later, Georges says, when Representative Paul Simon, on March 20, won the state Democratic primary for the U.S. Senate race. "Illinois Freeze Voters had three full-time people working for Simon," Georges points out, with "canvassers in every Illinois district and sizable phone banks."

Although CLF, which is associated with the Midwest Academy (a school for organizers headed by Heather Booth), tailors programs and consultations to fit group needs, Kelsey says the core electoral training program consists of two workshops:

- **General Electoral Skills** This two-day beginners' session focuses on the general operation of a political campaign and how an organization can contribute its skills. CLF trainers take inventory of the organization's resources and plot campaign functions on a time line. Participants learn how to raise funds and select a voter strategy suited to their organization.
- **Campaign Management** CLF's most advanced electoral training, this is a three-

Spring Training

The Citizens' Leadership Foundation is only one of about 40 groups sponsoring nonpartisan electoral training workshops. What follows is a listing of some of the upcoming sessions. At the end the abbreviations are explained and contacts named.

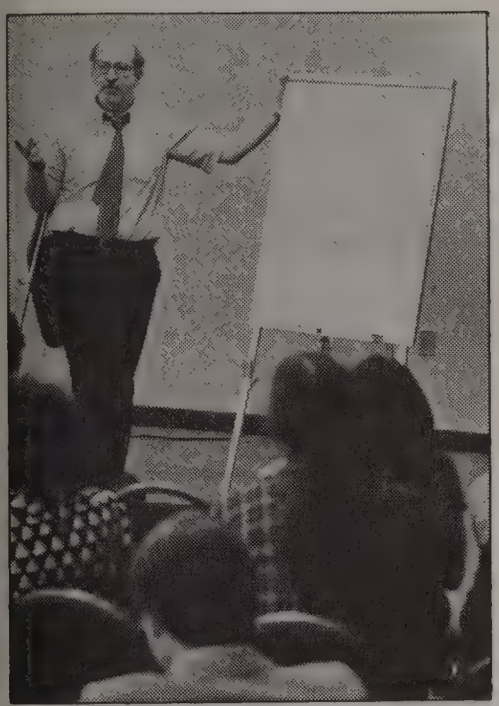
ALABAMA: Birmingham—NWEF, June 16.
CONNECTICUT: Hartford—CAN, May 10-18. Hartford—CLF, May 21-25.
DELAWARE: Wilmington—NWEF, June 9.
DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA: RNC, April 29-May 5 and May 20-26. CLF, May 11-13. FEC, every Monday, 2:30-4 p.m.
FLORIDA: Tampa—NWEF, April 28. Jacksonville & Daytona Beach—ACEP, date TBA.
ILLINOIS: Chicago—CLF, May 4-6.
INDIANA: Evansville—Network, April 28.
IOWA: Quad Cities—CLF, April 27-29.
KANSAS: Wichita—UCC, May 11-12.
MISSOURI: St. Louis—ISJ, May 27-June 1.
NEW YORK: Rochester—UCC, May 4-5. Long Island—CLF, May 19-20.
OHIO: Columbus—NWFC, May 11-12. Cleveland—UCC, May 18-19.
OKLAHOMA: Oklahoma City—Network, April 28.
PENNSYLVANIA: Philadelphia—Network, April 28.
TENNESSEE: Nashville—NWEF, May 12.
TEXAS: Houston—UCC, May 11-12.
VERMONT: AE—April 29.

CONTACTS

ACEP: Arms Control Education Project, David Riley (202) 543-4312.
AE: Americans for the Environment, Bill Painter (202) 296-6364.
CAN: Citizens Against Nuclear War, Karen Mulhauser (202) 822-7483.
CLF: Citizens' Leadership Foundation, Janet Kelsey (312) 975-3670.
FEC: Federal Election Commission, Gwen Hoffman (202) 523-4183.
ISJ: Institute for Social Justice, Terry Thompson (214) 823-4580.
NWEF: National Women's Education Fund, Lynn Olson (202) 462-8606.
NETWORK: Jill Craig (202) 526-4070.
NWFC: Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, Ben Senturia (314) 533-1169.
RNC: Republican National Committee, Robert Meyne (202) 863-8518.
UCC: United Church of Christ, Jay Lintner (212) 683-5656.

day session "for people who are going head-first into electoral politics," Kelsey says. The session costs $225-a-head. It includes an overview of the campaign manager's role, exercises on budget and media plans, and a review of campaign management case studies.

"All our sessions depend a lot on role playing rather than lectures," Kelsey explains. Typically, 20 to 30 people are involved in a session. For organizations venturing into electoral work for the first time, two concerns are usually paramount: government restrictions on nonprofit political involvement and fear of splitting an organization's membership.



Political consultant Murray Fishel has led several CLF workshops

"The groups have to obey the law for nonprofit organizations just like CLF [a nonprofit group] does," Kelsey says. "We advise them on how to legally set up electoral work. In most cases this will mean they establish a political action committee, as do corporations. Groups can't be too careful." (The Freeze Campaign's training program will soon distribute to about 1000 local groups three memoranda on federal election rules.)

Those considering electoral work may find division in their ranks. CLF assists activists in creating internal structures that allow some members to do non-electoral work and to create a framework for democratically deciding whether or not to take part in a political campaign. Some activists, as Kelsey puts it, "still believe politics are dirty so they want only to talk about the issues. We try to bring the whole organization around to electoral involvement."

—James Bradley Burke

Local Races Spur Grass Roots

Not all of the campaign activities at the grass roots are being directed by local groups affiliated with national organizations. From highly organized PACs to embryonic discussion groups, the campaign efforts of independent local groups are complementing the electoral work of SANE, Freeze Voter '84 and other well-known organizations. In coming issues we'll be looking at some of these indigenous efforts. The following examples show three groups at very different levels of organization.

Activists from several peace groups in Montana formed the Peace Political Action Committee (PeacePAC) in the fall of 1983 after the state legislature rejected a batch of disarmament proposals. (Voters across the state had passed an initiative in 1982 opposing the MX and supporting the freeze.) Now PeacePAC, which has a broad steering committee and a $150-a-month coordinator, is tackling electoral work on several fronts.

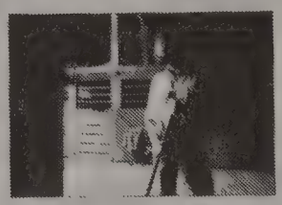
As part of its effort to oust Congressman Ron Marlenee (who supports the MX and opposes the freeze) PeacePAC is distributing material on his voting record and his stands on peace issues. The PAC, based in Hamilton, Montana, is also searching for candidates to run for the state legislature and assisting in efforts to get the Montana Initiative for Nuclear Disarmament on the 1984 ballot. And at the state's Democratic caucuses in late March, the group helped to elect over 30 "peace" delegates who may be chosen to attend the national convention in July. Butch Turk, PeacePAC's coordinator, emphasizes volunteer support for candidates. "We don't rule out the possibility of cash contributions," Turk explains, "but the point is to get people involved. Besides, Montana is a small state. *People* working matters more than *money* working."

In Ormond Beach, Florida, an informal coalition of activists from about 12 environmental, freeze, church, feminist, and labor groups recently formed. What unites them is a common desire to work against the candidacy of Representative William Chappell Jr., a "peace-through-strength" advocate who sits on the House Defense Appropriations Subcommittee. Jim Baker, a member of the coalition, says the new group came together because nonprofit, educational groups

PHOTO BY RICK REINHARD

Songs of Conscience

FRED SMALL



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are legally prohibited from participating in electoral activities. (Baker's group, People to Prevent Nuclear War, has been active since 1982 in anti-MX petition drives and antinuclear education.) "It's our priority to vote Chappell out," Baker says.

That won't be easy, according to Baker, since Chappell enjoys "enormous" community support (he won 67 percent of the vote in his last race) and will run a well-funded campaign. But Baker's coalition plans to pour volunteers, money and time into unseating Chappell.

Many grass-roots efforts that are emerging in 1984 are still unnamed, such as the one in tiny (population 350) Woodleaf, North Carolina. Linda Stout, who helped organize the Freeze Campaign in Charleston, South Carolina, would like to unseat Representative William Hefner—another advocate of big defense budget increases—but first she has to acquaint local people with basic information about the nuclear issue. "Most people here really know nothing about what's happening in Washington," says Stout. "I can't think about getting them politically active until they're educated."

Stout is finding that the only effective way of organizing what she terms an "extremely conservative" community is through the sanction of neighborhood churches. Fortunately, Stout found 12 ministers who were grateful for an opportunity to become involved in antinuclear work. With them she is organizing a May 20 conference that will concentrate on the economic effects of the arms race. Stout, who predicts that the ministers' blessings will quell the suspicions of local residents about "liberal" causes, plans to sign up new antinuclear workers at the conference. "It's important to get Hefner out—that's the end goal," says Stout, who, with several others, regularly calls his office to protest his pro-MX, antifreeze stance. "But our first goal must be to simply introduce our neighbors to the issues." □

Is he in the right place?

Conducting A Hart Exam

When the smoke cleared after Senator Gary Hart's stunning early primary victories, antinuclear activists found themselves scrambling to learn more about the candidate. Some eventually endorsed Hart, others attempted to influence his positions on nuclear weapons issues; some did both. But one month later questions about Hart remain.

Following Hart's upset win in New Hampshire, Dr. James Muller, a founder of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, heard Hart speak at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Addressing a large crowd, Hart said that his number-one priority as president would be to end the arms race.

"To hear a crowd react to that with such excitement was music to my ears," says Muller, who resigned his post with the nonpartisan IPPNW to become a Hart advocate.

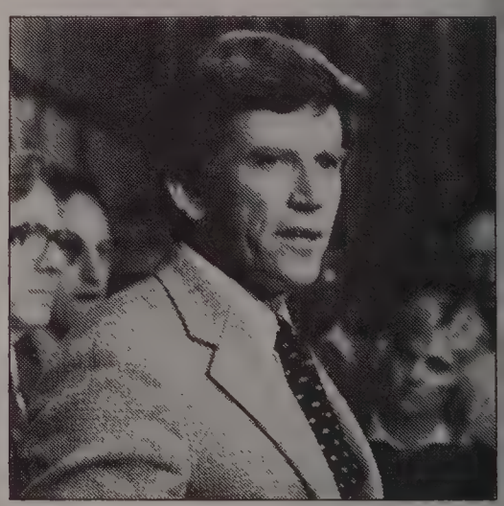
Muller organized a group that included Carl Sagan and George Rathjens of MIT which met with Hart before issuing an official endorsement of the Senator. During this meeting, Hart explained his positions on the freeze and build-down and, according to Muller, convinced the gathering of his desire for a breakthrough in arms control. (Hart has been criticized for endorsing the build-down scheme, which he later rejected when President Reagan tried to use it as a cover for obtaining the MX.) While noting that the difference between Hart and Walter Mondale on nuclear policies are minimal, Muller, Sagan, and Rathjens (who had previously endorsed Mondale) all told NUCLEAR TIMES that for them the primary issue was electability.

During his meeting with Hart, Rathjens reports, he made no serious effort to influence the candidate. But in Illinois, freeze activists who entered the Hart camp found they were in a position to apply pressure.

When Senator Alan Cranston pulled out of the race after New Hampshire, 86 Cranston supporters running as delegates in the Illinois primary—about half of them freeze activists—became attractive to Hart, who did not have full delegate slates in Illinois. At the same time, some of these delegates looked at the Hart campaign as a way they could still make it to the Democratic Convention and ensure a freeze presence.

This mutual need led to much interaction between the Illinois Freeze Campaign and the Hart campaign. Wendy Georges, a Cranston delegate who switched to Hart (and a staff associate for the state Freeze Campaign), met with Hart and urged him to clarify his positions on the freeze and build-down. "I told him I was a freeze delegate *first*," she says.

On March 3, 25 Cranston delegates, including Georges, met with representatives of both the Mondale and Hart campaigns. Paul Warnke, who negotiated SALT II, spoke to the group for 30 minutes on the phone on behalf of Mondale. Warnke maintained that if elected, Mondale would immediately propose a six-month moratorium on nuclear testing. Hart then addressed the group and apparently went one step further, noting that he supports the "quick freeze." The next day, Hart's spokesman in Illinois



Will movement take Hart?

released a statement in the candidate's name that maintained that Hart, on his first day in office, would "impose a six-month unilateral moratorium on the testing of nuclear warheads and the flight testing and deployment of all ballistic missiles, inviting a Soviet response in kind."

This represented an outright endorsement of the quick freeze. But in a letter sent that same day to Senator Charles Percy (requesting that Percy stop citing him as a supporter of the build-down), Hart reiterated that he would impose a moratorium on the "testing *or* deployment of nuclear weapons." (Emphasis added.) In full-page advertisements placed in *The Boston Globe* and *The New York Times* outlining in detail his arms control stands, Hart mentioned a first-day-in-office moratorium on testing, but

ILLUSTRATION BY TOM BLOOD

not on deployment. And on March 28 Hart repeated his call for a test moratorium, but used the word "perhaps" in referring to a delay in deployment.

Nevertheless, Hart aides, such as Janne Nolan, Hart's legislative assistant for national security affairs, maintain Hart supports a quick freeze that includes the testing *and* deployment of new strategic missiles. (No action would be taken on cruise and Pershing 2 missiles, however, until there was an opportunity for consultation with NATO allies, Hart aides explain.)

And where does Mondale stand on this "litmus test" issue? Without calling it such, Mondale earlier this year endorsed a series of moratoria that approaches the quick freeze. (*See* NUCLEAR TIMES, *March '84*.) However, in a March 19 meeting with Minnesota freeze activists, Mondale appeared to pull back from his call for a moratorium on the deployment of ballistic missiles. According to one attendee, when Mondale was asked about that specific pledge, he replied, "Did I say that?" And he added that such a moratorium would not be too significant.

CHANGE IN HART?

Hart's overall record on arms control combines stands that have won him both praise and censure from the movement. He worked hard on SALT II and last year led a filibuster in the Senate against the MX missile. He has called for "constraints" on antisatellite weapons, an international plutonium freeze, and a strengthening of the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. His STOP proposal (Strategic Talks on the Prevention of nuclear war) called for measures that would achieve stability and prevent the use of nuclear weapons, such as a U.S.-Soviet crisis control facility.

But Hart has received some bad marks from movement activists for turning down the Freeze Campaign's offer in 1982 to sponsor the Senate freeze resolution. (Hart did not sign on as a cosponsor until a year later.) In February 1982, Hart called the freeze "not an adequate answer" (although he praised the freeze movement). And in a December 1981 letter written to the mayor of Boulder, Colorado, Hart said that "a freeze on tests, including operational tests, would produce forces on both sides which would be increasingly unreliable." Hart later declined to endorse the freeze when it appeared on the Denver ballot in November 1982. He has also shown a propensity to vote for increased military spending—his "alternative" military budget demands a 4 percent rise—and he supports the Midgetman missile.

Hart aides—present and past—explain Hart's initial reluctance to embrace the freeze by noting that Hart's adherence to his STOP proposal prevented him from leading the freeze effort. "He believed he had conceived of an approach which was clearer and more precise," says Larry Smith, Hart's chief of staff from 1978 to 1982 and now the executive director of Harvard University's Center for Science and International Affairs.

"When you look at his voting record, he's good on our issues," reports Mike Mawby, deputy director of SANE. "For years Hart has talked about the need to beef up conventional forces with cheaper and more workable weapons. Hart may have found a way to package what we all believe in to the U.S. public. You can't get elected without paying attention to the desire for a strong military that is combat ready."

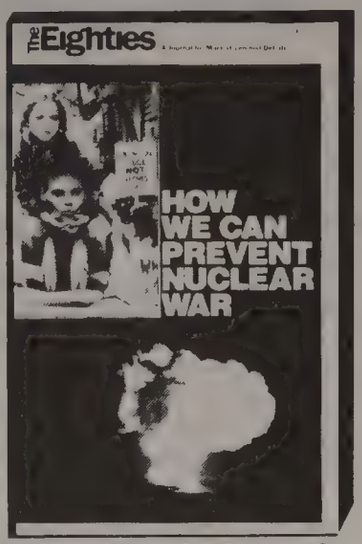
"With respect to the freeze," says Randy Kehler, national coordinator of the Freeze Campaign, "there is no significant difference between Mondale and Hart." In March, Kehler met with Hart aides twice, in an effort to have Hart cosponsor the Senate resolution on the quick freeze. "They gave the distinct impression that Hart would cosponsor," he says.

There are other attempts at reciprocal courting. Cranston met with Hart to discuss the former's proposed peace plank for the party platform, for example.

But the Peace Roundtable, a collection of leading movement representatives who met with Mondale in January, has tried, to no avail, to arrange a meeting with Hart. His staff claims he is interested in such a meeting, but as of early April, Hart had not made a specific commitment.

Yet Hart continues to draw the support of some of those who previously backed Mondale.

Richard Healey, director of the Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy, signed a Mondale endorsement letter (with 12 other movement activists) in February. But he has since drifted toward Hart. "A number of people are very disturbed that Mondale may be backing away from the commitments he made to the Peace Roundtable, and his tendency to red-bait Hart on Central America," Healey says. Many Coalition members were "infuriated with Mondale's comments on Central America," he adds, referring to Mondale's charge that Hart was naive because he attributed the crisis in Central America predominantly to poverty rather than Soviet-sponsored adventurism. Healey adds: "At this point, Hart is a better peace candidate than Mondale." (Other activists call



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Jesse Jackson the true peace candidate. The Reverend John Collins of Clergy and Laity Concerned, the Reverend Paul Mayer of Mobilization for Survival, and Jonathan King of Jobs with Peace, among others, are circulating pro-Jackson letters.)

While it is hard to predict the sway the movement might hold over a specific candidate in the long run, it is clear that movement activists have influenced this election year already, propelling arms control to the top of the campaign agenda of Hart, Mondale and Jackson. Since New Hampshire each of the three candidates has tried to distinguish himself as the stronger freeze proponent. "What's been impressive about the freeze movement is that it's been able to dominate the dialogue," says Karen Mulhauser, executive director of Citizens Against Nuclear War and a Mondale supporter. "We have both front-running candidates accepting our issue. It puts us in a win-win situation." She adds, "Politicians wouldn't be talking about a total halt to the arms race if not for the freeze movement."

—David Corn

Campaign Resources

A continuing guide to some of the new, campaign-related educational materials

Bird Dogging Guide: Tips on how to smell out the candidates' positions, stick to their trail and not let them duck the issue; 50¢, from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Boulevard, St. Louis, MO 63108, (314) 533-1169.

Elections: Grassroots Strategies for Change: An introductory "training and orientation manual," published by *Southern Exposure*. Includes colorful feature stories and tips on registering voters, running for office, canvassing, campaigning with computers and many other subjects, with a special eye on the South; $4 ($2.50 for 5 to 99 copies) from *Southern Exposure*, PO Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

Campaign Workbook: An excellent guide; $25 from the National Women's Education Fund, 1410 Q Street N.W., Washington, DC 20009 (202) 462-8606.

Student Voter Registration Report: A newsletter on national campus activities from the National Student Campaign for Voter Registration, 37 Temple Place, Boston, MA 02111 (617) 357-9016.

Books not Bombs: A pamphlet, prepared by Jobs with Peace and the National Education Association, that provides information on the effects of federal cuts to education, recommends cuts in specific military programs to fund education, and suggests ways of using the pamphlet as a campaign organizing tool; 50¢ from Jobs with Peace, 76 Summer Street, Boston, MA 02110 (617) 338-5783.

Campaign Guide for Corporations and Labor Organizations and a **Campaign Guide for Nonconnected Committees**: Free, from the Federal Election Commission, 1325 K Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20463. The FEC offers several useful services. It can provide a free computer printout of the PAC monies received by candidates in three-month intervals, for example. All inquiries: call (800) 424-9530.

Permissible Activities of 501 (c) (3) Organizations During a Political Campaign: Available free from Independent Sector, 1828 L Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20036 (202) 223-8100.

Gender Gap, by Bella Abzug, with Mim Kelber ($11.95 cloth, $6.95 paper, Houghton Mifflin Co.), and **Why and How Women Will Elect The Next President**, by Eleanor Smeal ($6.95, Harper & Row).

Prevention of Nuclear War: Funders' Guide to Non-Partisan Voter Education Activities: A 16-page guide which answers legal questions and describes the 501(c)(3) activities of national and local peace groups. Available free from the Forum Institute, 1225 15th Street, N.W., Washington, DC 20005 (202) 462-4243.

—Renata Rizzo

A year at the races

The Picks Of The PACs

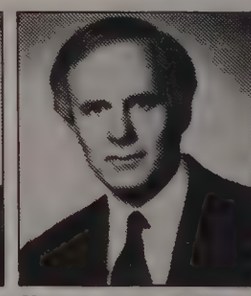
Arms manufacturers pumped $2.5 million in direct contributions into congressional campaigns in 1982, and conservative political action committees (PACs) donated millions more to the war chests of candidates who supported a military buildup. Arms control PACs that year provided about $1 million. But this year, these PACs hope to raise over $3 million for their favored candidates.

There is a long roster of candidates receiving some degree of support—either monetary or organizational—from PACs on opposing sides of the arms issue, but some races are drawing more attention than others. (The lists of the candidates supported by various arms control PACs overlap, but do not match exactly.)

SENATE

BACKING INCUMBENTS: Antinuclear PACs are trying to protect incumbents Carl Levin, Democrat of Michigan and a member of the Armed Services Committee; Mark Hatfield, Republican of Oregon and one of the original sponsors of the freeze; and David Pryor, Democrat of Arkansas. Levin, who had the smallest margin of victory in 1978 of any of the Democratic senators now up for reelection, expects a difficult race against either former Representative Jim Dunn or former astronaut Jack Lousma, who face-off in the Republican primary in August. Levin has been singled out by some conservative PACs as a vulnerable liberal. And Pryor faces a tough challenge from Representative Ed Bethune. As the only House Republican now running for the Senate, Bethune will receive concentrated support from his party.

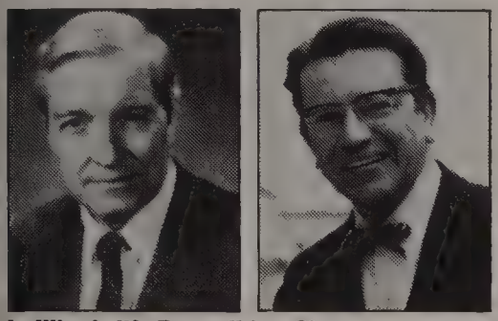
OPPOSING INCUMBENTS: SANE PAC has cited Representative Tom Harkin's bid to oust Roger Jepsen of Iowa its "number-one priority in the Senate," and recently assigned a staff organizer to work on the race. (Harkin sits on SANE's board of directors.) In other key races, the antinuclear PACs back Representative Norman D'Amours against Gordon Humphrey in New Hampshire; Elizabeth Mitchell, the House majority leader in Maine, against William Cohen (of build-down fame); and Representative Paul Simon against Charles Percy in Illinois. Jepsen, Humphrey and Cohen all sit on the Armed Services Committee, and Percy chairs the Foreign Relations Committee. (Several "hawkish" PACs, such as the American Security Council PAC and the Fund for a Conservative Majority—as well as the American Space Frontier Committee, which advocates space-based "defensive" weapons—are supporting both Jepsen and Humphrey.)



D'Amours (l.) opposes Humphrey in N.H.

OPEN SEAT: The Council for a Livable World, Freeze Voter '84 and SANE PAC have all endorsed state senator Lloyd

Doggett, a leading Texas progressive, in the May 5 Democratic primary. Doggett is running for the Senate seat vacated by Republican John Tower, chair of the



In Illinois it's Percy (l.) vs Simon

Armed Services Committee. In the Republican primary, pro-buildup PACs are supporting Phil Gramm, who, like Jepsen and Humphrey, usually rates 100 on the "National Security Index" of the American Security Council.

HOUSE

SANE PAC has released a list of over 60 House candidates it supports. Freeze Voter '84 plans to be active in about 30 races; half have been chosen already. Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament PAC (WAND PAC) is targeting 23 races, and PeacePAC, about 50 races.

BACKING INCUMBENTS: Some of the incumbents granted high-priority support by staffers at antinuclear PACs include Les AuCoin of Oregon, Bruce Morrison of Connecticut, and Frank McCloskey of Indiana—all Democrats. AuCoin, a leader of the MX opposition, may be up against a $1 million opposition effort. Both Morrison and McCloskey won their 1982 elections by slim margins.

Some of the conservative PACs have targeted Democratic incumbents because of their stands on military issues. For instance, Julian Barber of the American Security Council PAC says that his group will work very hard against Ronald Dellums of California and Bob Carr of Michigan because "both have opposed every defense bill that has passed by."

Other incumbents—again all Democrats—who may face serious challenges and have been endorsed by arms control PACs are George Brown Jr. and Jerry Patterson (California), James Clark (North Carolina), Lane Evans (Illinois), Bob Edgar (Pennsylvania), James McNulty (Arizona), Timothy Penny (Minnesota), Robin Tallon Jr. (South Carolina), Frederick Boucher (Virginia), and Peter Kostmayer (Pennsylvania).

OPPOSING INCUMBENTS: One Democrat targeted for defeat is conservative Bill Chappell Jr. of Florida, who chairs a key appropriations subcommittee that oversees military spending and weapons systems. Chappell has been the chief House sponsor of several nuclear weapons systems. "We're trying to have groups throughout Florida coalesce and concentrate on this race," says Bob Chlopak of Friends of the Earth PAC.

In the following races antinuclear PACs back Democratic challengers:

PENNSYLVANIA: Jane Wells-Schooley, who used to work for the National Organization for Women, takes on Donald Ritter, and state senator Joe Hoeffel tackles Lawrence Coughlin.

ILLINOIS: Skip Schwerdtfeger challenges Lynn Martin.

OREGON: Antinuclear PACs refer to them as "the Smiths of Oregon"—Denny and Robert (no relation). Denny Smith is being challenged by Ruth McFarland, who nearly beat him in 1982, and Robert Smith faces Larryann Willis, a rancher.

NORTH CAROLINA: State legislator Ken Spaulding tries to knock off Tim Valentine Jr. in the May 8 Democratic primary.

MISSISSIPPI: Robert Clark, a black state legislator who nearly beat Webb Franklin two years ago, tries again this year.

OPEN SEATS: Arms control PACs are supporting three women: Dudley Dudley, a longtime Democratic activist in New Hampshire; Frances Farley, a state senator and MX opposition leader in Utah; and Susan Green, a Mecklenburg County Commission member backed by coalition of progressive groups in North Carolina. **—David Corn**

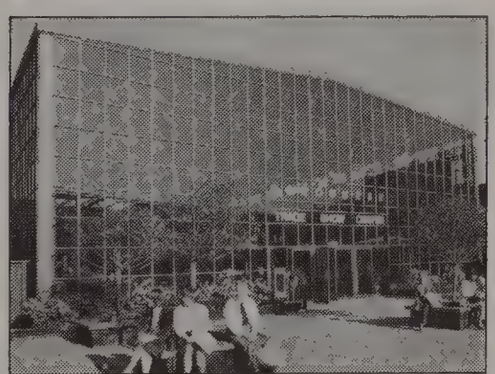
(NUCLEAR TIMES *takes a nonpartisan position in all election races. In this story we have reported information as we received it from PACs. Reprints of this article will not be permitted.*)

Peace To Show In San Francisco

Nearly 4000 delegates, 15,000 members of the press and thousands of others will converge on San Francisco in July for the Democratic National Convention. Antinuclear activists will be there too. But it won't be anything like Chicago in 1968 when the peace movement was outside, getting clubbed in the streets. While some demonstrations are expected, the focus of attention will be indoors on what could be called an antinuclear trade show: *A Vision of America at Peace*, a project of Ground Zero California.

Vision will attempt to make new connections with delegates, journalists and television viewers through "humor, cleverness and the best party in town," says Patrick O'Heffernan, who is handling arrangements for Ground Zero out of its Berkeley office. (The project is cosponsored by, among others, the Peace and Environmental Convention Coalition, which represents 80 local groups.) Its home will be 70,000 square feet of space at Showplace Square, a modern trade show center six blocks from the Moscone Convention Center, where the Democrats will meet, starting July 16. National and local peace groups will set up booths, surrounded by an ambitious art exhibit. Organizers in 30 to 50 communities across the country are working on images of what their home towns might look like if the world were genuinely at peace. The displays, which may range from banners to videotapes, will be created by artists and youth, church and community groups. "We want to create a very exciting, positive visual image for the press," O'Heffernan says. The displays will then be shipped to Dallas for the Republican convention, providing a site is secured.

The *Vision* center will also provide office space for such groups as Freeze Voter '84 and the Sierra Club. Friends of the Earth plans to publish a daily newspaper there during the week. (To reserve booths or offices call 415-486-0233.)



Site of Ground Zero's peace convention

"The delegates will include many local elected officials," O'Heffernan says. "We have to go back next year and ask them for nuclear free zones and other things."

To draw delegates to the center, organizers will offer caucus space, panel discussions and several "bashes." And all delegates will be informed that their children are invited to participate in daily performances of *Peace Child*, the antinuclear musical. "Delegates will come watch their kids singing songs such as 'Mr. President, We Don't Want Bombs,' and 'I Want to Live,'" O'Heffernan says. "That ought to get our message across."

—David Newdorf

War and Peace in the Nuclear Age

Film and Video from PMI

IN OUR DEFENSE

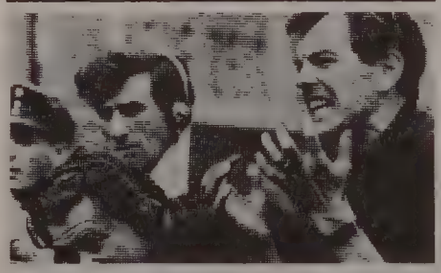
An examination by leading experts in many fields of how America's quest for security through military strength has made us less secure as a nation economically and individually.

26 minutes/Color, 1983

PROPHECY

An important account of the effects of the atomic attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, utilizing long-suppressed U.S. footage and interviews with victims of the bombings.

41 minutes/Color, 1982



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49 minutes/Black and White, 1966

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Ideas That Work

Claudia Yukman, a graduate student at Brandeis University, meant to stay just for a little while. So did the *Boston Globe* reporter. Yukman ended up lingering for five hours. The *Globe* reporter also remained for hours, and then returned early the next morning.

These were typical reactions to a marathon reading—billed as "24 Hours for Survival"—sponsored by a two-year-old group called New England Writers for Survival (NEWS). Several hundred people stopped in—and tarried—at the First Congregational Church in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to hear 96 writers read about war, peace, love and death from the works of Blake, Homer, Shakespeare, Twain, Woody Allen and scores of other writers. The readers ranged from Pulitzer Prize-winners to unknown poets. None were paid, and none were permitted to read their own work. B.F. Skinner, for example, read a passage from *The Wind in the Willows*.

It took organizers six months to choose appropriate texts and authors for the event. Expenses, though, were minimal—the group spent just $600, two-thirds of which went towards printing posters.

While "24 Hours for Survival" received little advance publicity, once it got underway it was covered widely by national news services and local media. More importantly, it appears to have offered inspiration to readers and audience alike. Anne Bernays, who read from a Doris Lessing novel, termed the event "almost a religious experience," and the *Globe* reporter got so involved that he finally joined in the reading himself.

Since the November 11 event NEWS member Beatrice Hawley has gotten hundreds of letters from people throughout the country about the reading. And a group at Tufts University held a similar one last month. For information about receiving a tape of "24 Hours for Survival," or for tips on organizing your own reading, contact: NEWS, 45 Cedar Street, Somerville, MA 02143 (617) 625-1194.

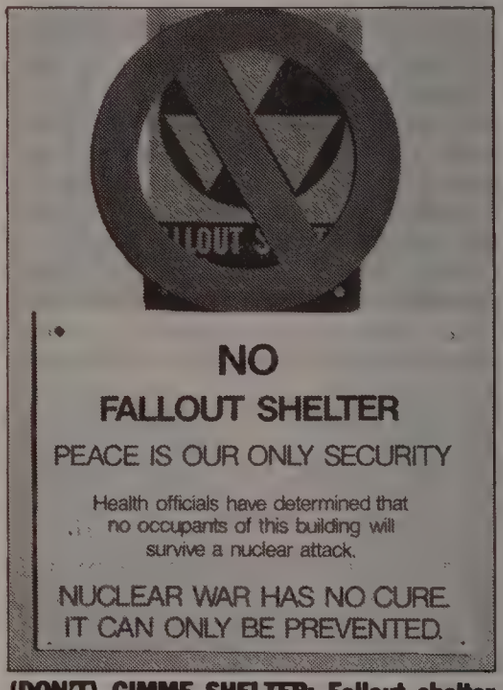
* * *

When members of the New England Campaign to Stop the Euromissiles read the Technical Marketing Society of America's (TMSA) description of its missile marketing conference ("It is a must for all those in government and industry . . . to meet tomorrow's challenges in electronic warfare . . . "), they immediately began to plan a regional protest. They modeled it on their December action at a similar conference, which drew hundreds of demonstrators, resulted in 73 arrests, and attracted national media coverage.

"But this time we encouraged our members to phone and write to the Colonnade Hotel and express concern about their hosting such a conference," says Campaign staffer Judy Freiwirth. Shortly thereafter, a delegation, including 1983 mayoral candidate Mel King, met with hotel management and were told that "due to public pressure" the Colonnade had decided to cancel the conference.

When asked if such a tactic might raise free-speech questions, Freiwirth replied that "the idea of profiting from more effective missiles is so offensive—particularly in Boston, where voters favor the freeze and passed a Jobs with Peace referendum—that we don't think the First Amendment is the issue here. They can hold their conference somewhere else."

Perhaps. The Campaign has contacted groups in other cities frequented by TMSA to alert them of their successful strategy. "We'll do this again in Boston if we have to," Freiwirth says. "But I think that TMSA might have second thoughts about coming back." —Renata Rizzo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PEACE IS OUR ONLY SECURITY
Health officials have determined that no occupants of this building will survive a nuclear attack.
NUCLEAR WAR HAS NO CURE.
IT CAN ONLY BE PREVENTED.

(DON'T) GIMME SHELTER: Fallout shelter signs in some churches are being replaced with signs like the one pictured above, which adorns Unitarian Church of All Souls in New York City. Organizers have found that the conversion process sparks congregational education on civil defense and, often, media attention. The growing roster of non-compliant churches includes the St. Thomas Aquinas Church in Ames, Iowa; New York City's Riverside Church; and every Catholic church in Richmond, Virginia.

PHOTO BY STEVEN BORNS

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ACTION

THE BOX PROJECT: Help needy families in rural South. A direct, person-to-person way to care and share. For "your" family send stamped envelope: *Box 435, Plainville, Ct. 06062.*

INVEST IN PEACE—Learn how to screen out nuclear weapons investments from your church, pension fund or other organization. For free brochure or $7.50 organizer's kit write *Dept. NT, Nukewatch, 315 West Gorham, Madison, WI 53703.*

GOOD READING

WHAT ABOUT THE CHILDREN?
Use this booklet with our voter education strategy to make arms control the top priority in the November Elections. For booklet and information, send $1 to *CHILDREN?, Box 517, Moretown, Vermont 05660.*

WORLD'S FAIR: "Beautifully edited and printed" quarterly filled with unique and informative articles on past, present, future World's Fairs. Sample copy: Send $1. *Box 339, Corte Madera, Ca. 94925.*

Activists, Lawyers, Economists: Learn how the Consumer Price Index is distorted to understate inflation and keep cost-of-living adjustments down. For FREE information send large self-addressed, stamped envelope to: *Mereski, Box 15268 NT, Savannah, GA 31416.* Offer good through Election Day, November 6, 1984. Why isn't your union/group pushing this?

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Interfaith Center to Reverse the Arms Race, 132 N. Euclid Ave., Pasadena, CA 91101 (213) 449-9430.

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Bertrand Russell Society. Information: *NT, RD 1, Box 409, Coopersburg, PA 18036.*

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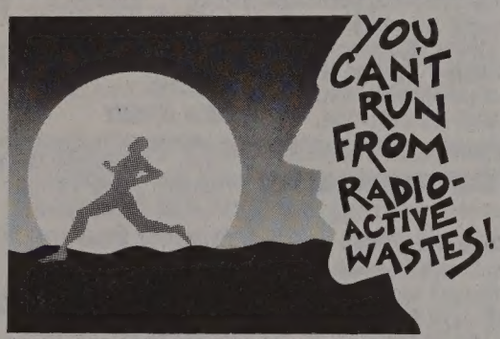

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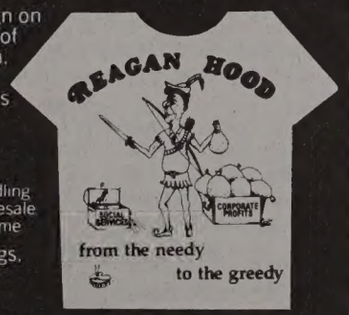

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Calendar

A free listing of antinuclear events from coast-to-coast
Submit June events by April 23

NATIONWIDE/ONGOING

PEACE WITH JUSTICE WEEK

A call for peace with economic justice will be heard at rallies, voter registration drives, church services, and other activities from May 4-13. Highlights will be Peace Sabbath/Peace Sunday, May 4-6, and Mother's Day '84 Celebration, May 13. For a packet suggesting activities for the week, *contact*: Peace with Justice Week, 475 Riverside Dr, Rm 712, New York, NY 10115 (212) 870-3347.

The International Peace with Justice Tour, featuring speakers from East and West Europe, Central America, the Pacific and southern Africa, will also take place from May 4-13. To schedule a speaker for your group, *contact*: Simeon White, American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St, Philadelphia, PA 19102 (215) 241-7177.

NATIONAL PILGRIMAGE

A rally calling for U.S. and Soviet leaders to stop the nuclear arms race will be held in Washington, DC on Sunday, June 3, 1984. The rally at the Capitol Building will culminate the National Pilgrimage to Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race, a nine-day, 100-mile walk beginning in Philadelphia on May 26. To register for the walk, or for further information, *contact*: the National Pilgrimage Office, Brandeis University, Usdan Suite 133, Waltham, MA 02254 (617) 647-2179.

TELEVISION

Will Our Children Thank Us? A documentary focusing on the lives of three activists and the emergence of the antinuclear movement, will be broadcast over PBS stations on April 20. For more information, *contact*: The Documentary Guild, Shearer Rd, Colrain, MA 01340 (413) 625-2402.

APRIL 15

WISCONSIN

• **Clam Lake** "A Celebration of Life," with tree planting, encirclement of the ELF Facility, and more. *Contact*: Citizens Against Trident/ELF, Box 364, Webster, WI 54893 (715) 866-8322.

APRIL 17

NEW YORK

• **New York** "Black Perspectives on the Arms Race," a look at how the black community has been involved in the peace and arms control movement; Columbia University, Earl Hall. *Contact*: Arms Race Alternatives, Columbia University, Earl Hall, New York, NY 10027 (212) 280-5113.

OHIO

• **Statewide** *Ghosts of Hiroshima*, a multi-media production based on testimonies of Hiroshima and Nagasaki survivors, will be touring **Wooster**, **Delaware**, **Kent**, **Mansfield**, **Akron** and **Cleveland**, through May 14. For itinerary, *contact*: Jennifer Reynolds, The Lantern Theater Co, 218 Forest St, Oberlin, OH 44074 (216) 775-2909.

APRIL 19

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Talk, "MX Deployment: Confronting the Fundamental Issues," with Henry Shue, Director of the Center for Philosophy and Public Policy; 2105 Rayburn House Office Building. *Contact*: Robin Sheets, Center for Philosophy and Public Policy, University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742 (301) 454-6601.

APRIL 20

CALIFORNIA

• **San Francisco** Talk, "The Business Perspective on National Security Issues," with Rep Barbara Boxer; San Francisco Banker's Club. On April 27, the talk will be given with Rep Mel Levine in **Los Angeles**; on April 28, in **Palo Alto** with Rep Ed Zschau. *Contact*: Business Executives for National Security, 21 DuPont Circle NW, Ste 401, Washington, DC 20036 (202) 429-0600.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Cambridge** "The Anything Can Happen Roadshow," musical satire on the arms race, with special guests; Cambridge Institute for the Arts and Sciences, 21 Notre Dame. The show can also be seen on April 21, 27 and 28. *Contact*: Underground Railway Theater, 21 Notre Dame, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 497-6136.

APRIL 23

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** Concert for Global Harmony, with conductor Seiji Ozawa, players from the Boston Symphony Orchestra, the Tanglewood Festival Chorus, and other guest artists; Symphony Hall. *Contact*: Musicians Against Nuclear Arms, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 491-7808.

APRIL 27

TENNESSEE

• **Memphis** Conference, "The Springtime of Peace, " with keynote speaker Daniel Berrigan, workshops, and more, through April 28. *Contact*: Mid-South Peace and Justice Center, PO Box 41645, Memphis, TN 38174 (901) 452-6997.

APRIL 28

CALIFORNIA

• **San Diego** Symposium, "Nuclear Issues in the '84 Elections," with Dr. Linus Pauling, Rear Adm Eugene Carroll (ret), Rev Joseph Lowery, and others; San Diego State University. *Contact:* Physicians for Social Responsibility, 5666 La Jolla Blvd, Rm 137, La Jolla, CA 92037 (619) 483-7774.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Boston** First national meeting of Performing Artists for Nuclear Disarmament (PAND); existing groups, as well as individuals wishing to establish new PAND chapters, are encouraged to attend; through April 29. *Contact*: Jo Swanson or Tod Born, Boston PAND, 456 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02139 (617) 661-7263.

NEW YORK

• **Albany** 10-kilometer walkathon, followed by party, to benefit the Social Action Center (SAC). *Contact*: SAC, 221 Central Av, Albany, NY 12206 (518) 434-4037.

• **New York** "A Celebration of Hope and Resistance," benefit for the Griffiss Plowshares, with Petra Kelly, Martin Sheen, Ramsey Clark, the Berrigan brothers, Liz McAlister, the Hudson Sloop singers, and others; Community Church, 40 E 35 St. *Contact*: Theater off Park of the Community Church (212) 679-6283 or The Religious Task Force of the Mobilization for Survival, 80 S Oxford St, Brooklyn, NY 11217 (212) 858-6882.

• **Stony Brook** County Conference, "1984: Year of Decision," with Rep Tom Downey, Barry Commoner, and others; SUNY Stony Brook. *Contact*: Suffolk Coalition for Peace, Jobs, and Human Needs, 20 Seville Lane, Stony Brook, NY 11798 (516) 751-2374.

APRIL 29

INDIANA

• **Manchester** Third Annual Peace Conference, "God, the State, and War," with Robert McAfee Brown, professor of theology and ethics at Pacific School of Religion, Berkeley, California, panel discussions, and more; Manchester College, through April 30. *Contact*: Ken Brown, Peace Studies Institute, PO Box 175, Manchester College, Manchester, IN 46962 (219) 982-2141.

NEW JERSEY

• **Lawrenceville** Performance of *Peace Child*; Lawrenceville High School. *Contact*: Mark Pickett, Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament, 40 Witherspoon St, Princeton, NJ 08542 (609) 924-5022.

MAY 2

NEW YORK

• **New York** Award-winning film, *Dark Circle*, opening at the Film Forum, 57 Watts St, through May 8. *Contact*: Independent Documentary Group, 394 Elizabeth St, San Francisco, CA 94114 (415) 824-5822 or the Film Forum (212) 431-1590.

MAY 5

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Pittsfield** Conference, "Seeds of Life: Today's Roots for A Viable Tomorrow," with workshops on nuclear free zones, U.S.-Soviet relations, child rearing in the Nuclear Age, and more; Berkshire Community College. *Contact*: the Global Issues Resource Organization, West St, Pittsfield, MA 01201 (413) 499-4660 ext 351 or 374.

NEW YORK

• **Regional** Local Freeze Campaigns will hold 10-kilometer walkathons in **Manhattan**, **Brooklyn**, **Flushing**, **Huntington**, **Westchester**, and **Newburgh**. *Contact*: Evan Freirich, Walkathon Coordinator, Downstate New York Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 351 E 74 St, New York, NY 10021 (212) 249-8658 or (212) 249-8097.

• **Romulus** "Walk for Jobs with Peace," two-day event will culminate with rally and picnic at Cayuga Lake State Park. *Contact*: Finger Lakes Peace Alliance, PO Box 388, Geneva, NY 14456 (716) 243-4002.

MAY 8

MARYLAND

• **Baltimore** General Conference of the United Methodist Church; the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) will sponsor a Peace Breakfast, and Jim Wallis, editor of *Sojourners* magazine will talk about "Waging Peace." *Contact*: FOR, PO Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960 (914) 358-4601.

MAY 14

CALIFORNIA

• **Van Nuys** Conference, "Thinking About the Unthinkable: Psychological Dimensions of the Nuclear Threat," with Dr. Timothy Hayes, technical consultant to *The Day After* and *Testament*, Jeanne Segal, author of *Living Beyond Fear*, and others; L.A. Valley Community College. *Contact*: Karen Litfin, Fate of the Earth, Immaculate Heart College Center, 10951 W Pico Blvd, Los Angeles, CA 90064 (213) 470-2293.

MAY 15

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Northfield** Application deadline for Leadership Conference for high school students and teachers taking place on August 14-17. Student/Teacher Organization to Prevent Nuclear War will pay for room and board for participants; full and partial scholarships for transportation are available. For application form, *contact*: STOP Nuclear War, PO Box 211, Northfield, MA 01360 (413) 498-5311 ext 264.

MAY 19

IOWA

• **Des Moines** Iowa Peace Chautauqua, a festival for peace, social justice and environmental preservation, with Pete Seeger, Ronnie Gilbert, Holly Near, and many others; Living History Farm, through May 20. *Contact*: Jim Dietz-Kilen, Coordinator, Iowa Peace Chautauqua, 4211 Grand Av, Des Moines, IA 50312 (515) 274-4851.

MASSACHUSETTS

• **Wilmington** Actions to protest the second round of missile deployment in Europe include nonviolent civil disobedience at the AVCO plant; through May 21. *Contact*: The New England Campaign to Stop the Euromissiles, 2161 Massachusetts Av, Cambridge, MA 02140 (617) 492-6446.

OHIO

• **Columbus** Gala Benefit, "Give Peace a Dance," hosted by Gov Richard F. and Dagmar Celeste, with music and entertainment. Over 100 Ohio artists will be exhibiting and auctioning their work; Lausche Building, Ohio State Fair Ground. *Contact*: The Ohio Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 640 S Ohio Av, Columbus, OH 43205 (614) 253-7867.

Compiled by Renata Rizzo

Thanks to everyone who mailed in events.

BY ANN MARIE CUNNINGHAM

Resources

RADIO

Prescription for Survival This 28-minute, monthly, public radio program by Physicians for Social Responsibility is now on about 200 stations here and in Canada and Australia. It covers subjects such as crisis relocation, the arms race in space and antinuclear conferences. (Programs available on cassette for $8, add $1 postage, from Prescription for Survival, 5539 West Pico Boulevard, Los Angeles, CA 90019. For stations airing the program in the East, call 603-795-2858; in the West, call Julian Siminski 213-464-4910.)

Consider the Alternatives This weekly half-hour show on nuclear issues is produced by SANE and nationally syndicated to 150 commercial and public radio stations. The hosts, Steve Shick and Bob Musil, conduct lively interviews with experts and activists. (Subscription to a program guide is $5, program cassettes $7 from SANE Education Fund, 5808 Greene Street, Philadelphia, PA 19144.)

BOOKS

The Day We Bombed Utah, by John G. Fuller ($16.50 hardcover, New American Library). The author of *We Almost Lost Detroit* (Readers Digest, 1975), about a near-meltdown at a nuclear reactor, has now published a highly readable account of the effects of atmospheric testing on downwind residents and livestock in Nevada and Utah, and of these citizens' continuing efforts to win restitution from the federal government.

Greenham Women Everywhere Dreams, Ideas and Actions from the Women's Peace Movement, by Alice Cook and Gwyn Kirk ($6.50 paper, South End Press). The story of Greenham women's experiences protesting cruise missiles. This book includes the facts about the cruise, as well as accounts of all-women nonviolent, direct-action campaigns.

International Arms Control Issues and Agreements, by the Stanford Arms Control Group, edited by Coit D. Blacker and Gloria Duffy ($16.95 paper, Stanford University Press). A revised, updated edition of a standard text describing the history, philosophy, achievements, and prospects of international arms control.

The Nuclear North The People, The Region, and the Arms Race, by Carole Giangrande ($9.95 paper, House of Anansi Press Limited, Ontario.) A Canadian plant makes the cruise missile guidance system. The missile is being tested in Saskatchewan, site of mines that produce the highest grade uranium ore in the world. Canada also exports CANDU reactors, one of which India used to make the raw material for its own nuclear weapon, detonated in 1974. Giangrande explores Canada's role in the international arms race, and assesses the impact of the Canadian peace movement.

VIDEO

Changing the Silence (38 minutes, color video, $25 rental from STOP Nuclear War, PO Box 211, Northfield, MA 01360). A tape of a play conceived and performed by high school students about how they cope with their feelings about the nuclear threat. The actors alternate excited group discussions about their plans for the future with personal meditations about fear of nuclear war. A moving, dramatic performance.

What About the Russians? (26 minutes, color video, $50 rental from Educational Film and Video Project, 1725 Seabright Avenue, Santa Cruz, CA 95062, 408-427-2627). Fourteen military experts and statesmen, including Robert McNamara, William Colby, and George Kennan, field questions like "Can the Russians be trusted?" and "Who's ahead?"

Ex-CIA chief Colby(l), Robert McNamara

WORKCAMPS

Volunteers for Peace, Inc. (Belmont, VT 05730, 802-259-2759) is organizing workcamps in seven states this summer, each lasting two to three weeks. They also offer 1984 VFP International Workcamps ($5), listing over 1000 camps in the United States, North Africa, Western and Eastern Europe.

STUDIES & GUIDES

World Policy Journal ($4.75 from the World Policy Institute, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017). Now out in its second issue, this quarterly provides a welcome forum for authors to expand on current policy issues, from the Kissinger Commission Report to industrial policy, with an emphasis on the discussion of conventional and nuclear arms issues. The Winter issue includes freeze author Randall Forsberg on her agenda for disarmament; a proposal for minimal deterrence; and a plan for no-first-use.

The FY 1985 Defense Budget: The Buildup Continues ($3 from the Defense Budget Project Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, 236 Massachusetts Avenue, N.E., Washington, DC 20002). **Spending for a Sound Defense: Alternatives to the Reagan Military Budget** (individual copies free from The Committee for National Security, 2000 P Street, N.W., Suite 515, Washington, DC 20036). These two studies provide important analysis and alternatives regarding the 1985 budget.

1984 National Directory of Audiovisual Resources on Nuclear War and the Arms Race, edited by Karen Sayer and John Dowling ($4 paper from Michigan Media, the University of Michigan Resources Center, 400 Fourth Street, Ann Arbor, MI 48109). Invaluable listing of films, videotapes, slide shows, and filmstrips.

Nuclear Arms Educational Service (PO Box 11002, Stanford University, Stanford, CA 94305) offers a variety of directories, including an Arms Control Telephone Directory ($5) that lists almost 800 peace groups in all 50 states, a Master Mailing List ($10) of over 1200 peace groups nationwide, and The Nuclear Power Debate: A Guide to the Literature ($18) which describes pro-, anti-, and neutral books on power and arms issues.

SPECIAL MENTION

Weapons and Hope, by Freeman Dyson ($17.50 hardcover, Bessie/Harper & Row). By presenting possible pragmatic solutions to the nuclear dilemma, and portraying it as a problem with historical analogs, Dyson attempts to defuse ideological stridency. In comparing, for example, a German field commander with Alfred Jodl, Hitler's chief of staff, Dyson clearly favors the field commander as a military decision-maker. Jodl, far-removed from the realities of battle, is caught-up in the ideology of serving the military, and, most importantly to Dyson, removed from the human impact of his decisions. Dyson sustains the contrast between ideologues and pragmatists throughout. He bemoans the fact that "the technology of nuclear weaponry has dominated strategic thinking," and would like to see the Soviet Union and the United States concentrate on inexpensive, non-nuclear defenses. And for the peace movement, Dyson advocates a greater emphasis on specific policy changes, such as no-first-use, and a de-emphasis on ideological goals.

Dyson approaches the nuclear debate from many different cultural angles and historical epochs, citing Thucydides as well as *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*. His own varied experiences as physicist, military adviser, antinuclear partisan, soldier in World War II and pacifist in the 1930s, also provide points of reference. In this collection of essays, Dyson provides a broad context for reconsidering the nuclear debate.

—Douglas Lavin

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In a campus talk, Dr. Helen Caldicott, noted author and pediatrician, clearly emphasizes the perils of nuclear war and reveals a frightening progression of events which would follow a nuclear attack.
" ... She hammers out facts about the effect of a nuclear holocaust with the rapidity of a machine gun and a passion that stuns her listeners."
J. Stone, *San Francisco Chronicle*
National Film Board of Canada
26 minutes Color 1982
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Wild Goose Jack

This inspiring biographical film focuses on famed ornithologist and naturalist Jack Miner, known as "The Father of Conservation." With actual footage of Jack dating from 1915, the film recounts the remarkable career of this visionary man and the events which shaped his life and philosophy.
" ... a finely tuned look at a pioneer conservationist ... " Jim Bawden, *Toronto Star*
57 minutes Color 1983
$895/100 Video $250

Hazardous Waste

The Search for Solutions

Hal Holbrook narrates this probing documentary about concerned citizens successfully organizing at the local level to clean up some of the 17,000 toxic chemical dumps which have littered the countryside. Specific ideas are presented from the different perspectives of government, industry, and community. The film cuts across all boundaries, making it useful for everyone.
35 minutes Color 1984
$545/55 Video $250

The Life & Times of Rosie the Riveter

In this valuable history of working women, five former "Rosies," movingly recall their experiences during World War II when women gained entry into major industrial plants for the first time. Their testimony is interwoven with rare archival recruiting films, posters and music of the period.
"The best film on working women I have seen." Molly Haskell, *MS Magazine*.
65 minutes Color 1980
$850/85 Video $595

SL-1

SL-1 uses recently declassified government film footage to recreate the true story of America's first nuclear accident which took place over 20 years ago. Previously repressed government evidence indicates that perhaps the disaster was caused by the suicidal impulse of an individual technician.
"A powerful and poignant blend of journalism, SL-1 is compelling viewing." *Variety*
60 minutes Color & BW 1984
$800/100

Eight Minutes to Midnight

A Portrait of Dr. Helen Caldicott
Academy Award Nomination 1981
60 minutes Color 1981
$800/100 Video $150

The Freeze

An Overview of the Arms Race
25 minutes Color 1983
$250/45 Video $100

No Place to Hide

Growing Up in the Shadow of the Bomb
Narrated by Martin Sheen
29 minutes Color & BW 1982
$495/45 Video $150

Vietnam Requiem

Emmy Award
58 Minutes Color 1983
$895/100 Video $250

Direct Cinema/Home Video**

Atomic Cafe

Archives Project 1982
BETA and VHS $54.95

Dr. Strangelove- or, How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb

Columbia Pictures 1964
BETA and VHS $49.95

Wasn't That a Time-The Weavers

UA Classics/Films Inc. 1982
BETA and VHS $49.95

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